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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 12, August 1984

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21 November 1984

USSR REPORT

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No 12, August 1984

Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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AT THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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pp 3-6

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a decree "On the Participation of Estonian SSR Leading Cadres in Political Education Work Among the Working People."

The decree notes that the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, party committees and primary party organizations implementing the decisions of the 26th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) and February and April (1984) plenums and the instructions of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have increased their attention to ideological and political education activities. The republic party organization is conducting purposeful counterpropaganda and countering ideological subversion by foreign television and radio, reactionary emigres and clericalist centers.

In their political work among the working people, party committees rely extensively on leading cadres. Party, soviet and trade union workers and economic leaders play an active part in the elucidation and implementation of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state and ensure the increasingly close unity of ideological, organizational and economic activities.

Leading officials of the republic Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, first secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms, and ministers are featured regularly at press conferences and in the press, radio and television, briefing the population on the activities of administrative organs and answering questions.

They take part in integrated political education days, sociopolitical readings and open letter events. The number of economic leaders among propagandists, public speakers and lecturers has increased. Many of them head agitation collectives, economic education councils and people's universities and are on the staff of ideological commissions. Party committees are more demanding toward leading cadres as regards people's education. Interviews on these questions are arranged and reports heard at party and workers' meetings and party Central Committee, gorkom and raykom bureaus and plenums.

The political education work of leading cadres is conducive to the development of the working people's production and social activeness and to the resolution of socioeconomic tasks facing the republic. Discipline has been reinforced and losses of working time and cadre turnover reduced in most collectives. The management of the agroindustrial complex is improving. Socialist pledges to increase the labor productivity growth rate by 1 percent over and above the plan and reduce the prime cost of output by an additional 0.5 percent are being implemented successfully. The national income growth rate exceeds the five-year plan targets.

However, there are shortcomings and omissions in the activity of party organizations and leading cadres in the working people's ideological and political education. As yet, not all leaders regard participation in ideological work as their direct duty. The improvement of their ideological and theoretical knowledge is not being effectively monitored. Certain leading workers tolerate bureaucratism, personal immodesty and arrogance, and abuse their official position.

Certain leaders fail to pay due attention to patriotic and international education. Problems of national relations and the molding of international consciousness are not studied at sufficient depth. A duly exacting attitude regarding the ideological and artistic standard of works of literature and art is not always adopted toward communists who head cultural institutions and creative unions.

Party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol workers rarely address young audiences, trade, public catering, consumer services and health care collectives or neighborhood units. Reports, discussions and press articles sometimes lack specificity, cogency and political pointedness. Certain economic leaders acting as propagandists take insufficient pains to prepare their lectures, and delegate this work to their deputies. Methods of individual educational work are not sufficiently utilized.

Pains are not taken everywhere to ensure that the growth in the working people's prosperity is accompanied by enhancement of their ideological, moral and cultural standards. The educational impact of socialist competition, the brigade form of organization and labor incentives are underestimated. Not all leaders adopt a highly responsible attitude to the fulfillment of state plans and pledges, or to the creation of the conditions necessary for highly productive labor and daily living. During the first 6 months of the year one enterprise in eight failed to honor contracts for output deliveries. Targets for saving raw and other materials are not being met. Since the beginning of the five-year plan a lag has been allowed to build up in meat and milk purchases. Enterprises' subsidiary farms are developing extremely slowly.

The CPSU Central Committee has instructed the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, gorkoms, raykoms and primary party organizations to eliminate the noted shortcomings. The resolution points out that the leading cadres' organizational and political activity must fully correspond to the tasks of improving developed socialism and to the demands of the 26th Party Congress and the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) and February and April (1984)

plenums. It is important that the Leninist style and traditions of day-to-day political work among the masses become an inner need for leaders at all levels. They are called upon to constantly deepen the links between the party and the people, educate not merely by words but also by deeds--by means of efficient labor organization, concrete concern for people, personal example and their own moral image.

Party committees, primary party organizations and leading cadres must skillfully utilize the rich arsenal of means, forms and methods of organizational and ideological work to mobilize labor collectives for the comprehensive intensification of production, accelerated scientific and technical progress and the implementation of the Food and the Energy Programs. More attention must be paid to questions of consumer goods production, the expansion of the service sphere, improving housing conditions and providing better medical, cultural and consumer services to the population.

The working people's more intensive class education must be regarded as one of the republic party organization's most important tasks. Efforts must be made to ensure that the content of political work among the masses accords more fully with people's enhanced level of consciousness and education. It is necessary to profoundly and intelligibly elucidate the party's economic and social policy and to convincingly propagandize the advantages of the socialist way of life. It is necessary to show clearly that the Estonian people's historical destiny is linked inseparably with the Soviet state's development and strengthening. It is necessary to expose the slanderous fabrications of anti-Soviet ideological centers with cogent argument and to give a fitting rebuff to demagogues and malicious critics.

Propaganda and agitation must take into account the concrete conditions and specific features, characteristic of various population groups. Constant attention must be paid to the ideological, labor and moral tempering of the young generation and to its military-patriotic education. The party must increase its influence on the scientific and artistic intelligentsia, and scientific and cultural figures must be involved more actively in mass political work.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, gorkoms, raykoms, primary party organizations and leading cadres must improve the education of the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. The preparations for the 40th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War and the 40th anniversary of the republic's liberation from Hitlerite fascism must be utilized extensively for this purpose. Leading cadres are instructed to persistently master the experience of economic and educational activity accumulated in other union republics and to bring the achievements of the USSR people's multinational culture within the reach of the population.

Republic party committees and primary party organizations must enhance the leading cadres' responsibility for the strict implementation of party decisions, for personal participation in political work among the working people and for educational consequences of economic activity. It is necessary to proceed from the premise that relations based on trust and sincerity can

develop between a leader and his subordinates only when they see in him a model of efficiency, party principle-mindedness, honesty and decency.

In cadre policy the party directive to combine trust with exactingness and to develop criticism and self-criticism must be unswervingly implemented. People who lack initiative and discipline, who, in V. I. Lenin's words, are "prone to replace action with discussion, who talk rather than work," must be got rid of. The training of skilled worker cadres drawn from the local population must be expanded and multinational collectives must be strengthened.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and party committees are instructed to persistently improve the ideological and theoretical education of leading cadres, to make them politically highly educated and to mold them the new way of economic thinking. For this purpose the potential of the party's VUZes, the Marxism-Leninism university and refresher courses must be better utilized.

The responsibility of party korkom and raykom first secretaries for the work of the party-economic aktiv schools must be enhanced. The courses must be adapted to the students' practical needs in socially useful work, and they must be taught effective methods of management and political education, the rudiments of teaching practice, social psychology and sociology. Cadres must be kept up to date regarding topical issues of party policy.

The CPSU Central Committee has emphasized that leading cadres have an important role to play in the implementation of the USSR Law on Labor Collectives and in the further development of socialist democracy. They must constantly rely on public organizations, listen to what the workers have to say, learn from the masses, consult them, head their practical proposals and critical remarks and strive for their complete implementation. The principle of social justice must be unswervingly asserted everywhere and in everything; letters, requests and complaints must be looked into attentively; and interviews with working people must be arranged at a time that suits them.

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, party committees, primary party organizations and leading cadres must step up the struggle against hooliganism, drunkenness, pilfering of socialist property, money-grubbing and other offenses.

Newspaper, journal, radio and television editorial staff must systematically generalize and propagandize the experience gained in the working people's class, patriotic and international education, report on the multifaceted production and social activities of leaders--the people in whom the party and state have placed their trust, reveal the causes of shortcomings in socioeconomic and ideological activity, and subject negative phenomena to principled criticism. The USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministries of Finance and of Communications and the USSR State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting have been instructed to help the republic to strengthen the material base of its mass news and propaganda media.

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THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY ARE UNITED

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pp 7-20

[Editorial on the publication of a book of K. U. Chernenko's selected speeches and articles]

[Text] The Soviet people live and work in a situation of favorable changes which are taking place in all spheres of society. The country's productive forces have grown stronger and been fundamentally renewed. Labor productivity has begun to grow more rapidly. The strengthening of order, organization and discipline has had a noticeable economic effect. The quality indexes in many sectors of the national economy have improved. Mutually connected measures in the sphere of the economy and of ideological-political education have helped to increase the working and social activeness of the masses. The material and spiritual needs of the people have begun to be more fully satisfied on this basis.

At the same time, these beneficial changes are also expressed in the growing awareness that what has been achieved is only the beginning of a great deal of work. Realistic appraisal of what has been achieved, a clear understanding of vital problems, collective, creative search for the best possible ways and methods of resolving these problems and a spirit of responsibility, exactingness and efficiency are the distinguishing features of that sociopolitical and moral atmosphere which is being more and more firmly and confidently established in the life of the party and the people. The decisions of the CPSU Central Committee February and April (1984) plenums and of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation, and all of the party's intensive ideological-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic work today are aimed at strengthening and developing this atmosphere.

The whole of this work is based upon a strictly scientific definition of the degrees of socioeconomic maturity reached by our society and upon a deep understanding of the features of the contemporary period. The party defines this period as the stage of developed socialism. Although our country is at the beginning of this historically protracted stage, the CPSU already possesses a wealth of experience for comprehensively and systematically perfecting the new society. In actual fact, it is the accumulated experience

of all communists and nonparty members and the result of what has been engendered by the practice of millions, since "socialism that is living and creative is the work of the popular masses themselves" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 57).

Profound Marxist-Leninist analysis, generalization of the practice of political leadership of the masses' creative activities and the substance of the multifaceted work of the party and the people to fulfill the decisions of the 25th and 26th CPSU congresses are comprehensively and clearly reflected in the book by K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, entitled "The People and the Party Are United. Selected Speeches and Articles" (Moscow, Politizdat, 1984).

This book, which covers the period from 1976 to April 1984, gives a broad panorama of the diverse efforts of the party and the people to increase the economic and defense potential of our motherland, improve the people's well-being and the education of the new man, avert the threat of a world thermonuclear catastrophe, strengthen the positions of socialism in the international arena and safeguard mankind's peaceful future.

The book's main theme is that of the communist party as the leading force in Soviet society, the core of its political system, and the political and ideological vanguard of the people. The book reveals the party's place in the system of social relations under developed socialism, its role in social progress, the strengthening of the unity of its ranks and its indissoluble link with the masses and the demands made upon communists today -- the bearers of the party idea.

Analysis of the far-reaching economic, sociopolitical and spiritual processes in the life of our society in the contemporary stage, and also concrete analysis of the activities of party organizations and committees at all levels, indicate a fundamental enriching of the content, forms and style of party work, which reflects a growth in its leading role.

Mature socialism is an integral social organism developing on a unified foundation of collectivist social relations. Further consolidation of the ideological-political, social and international unity of the Soviet people as a new, historic community of people on the basis of the complete sway of social property, and maturation of the material and spiritual prerequisites for liquidating class differences between people in the future, for drawing together and subsequently merging nations--this is what lies at the basis of the party's conclusion on the indestructible fraternity of the working people of our country as the supreme achievement of social progress.

The communist party has been and continues to be the embodiment of this unity of the Soviet people and its cementing force.

Strengthening the unity and cohesion of society is an objective, but not a spontaneous process. The party is at the head of this process and guides it by developing policies which fully and precisely reflect the vital interests of the many millions of Soviet people in optimum conjunction with the distinct

interests of each class and the social stratum of the working people. Only such a genuinely national policy, writes K. U. Chernenko, can fulfill its "unifying" role. Developing such a policy means standing firmly in the positions of the workers class and constantly collating one's course, decisions, and actions with the ideas of this class and with its sociopolitical and class sense. "The communist party is the vanguard of all the people, but by virtue of its class essence, its program aims, ideology, and policy, and the role played by the workers in the CPSU, it is and remains the party of the workers class, loyal to the glorious traditions of bolshevism.

"This ensures revolutionary continuity in its activities and the strictly consistent class nature of its domestic and foreign policy. It is a guarantee of success for the vast amount of work which we call the perfecting of developed socialism" (p 468).

While drawing closer to and merging with the masses, but without dissolving into them, the party leads them by setting an example of communist self-discipline and unity of belief and action.

The monolithic nature of the party itself, the cohesion of its ranks, and the coordination of communists' actions are a decisive condition of growth in its leading role in the life of society and of further consolidating the unity of the Soviet people.

The party has been and continues to be a fighting organization and an alliance of like-minded communists who can clearly see long-term aims and immediate tasks arising before them, as well as the real contradictions, difficulties and problems and collectively work out methods and means of resolving them.

The cohesion of Soviet communists is the source of the party's inexhaustible strength, this party acting as a unified whole. This strength is fully revealed when, to quote Lenin, "we all, party members, act as one man" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 14, p 128). It is precisely in this way, in an amicable and cohesive fashion, that the Central Committee and its Politburo operate today, adopting well-thought-out decisions in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy.

The party unites the best representatives of the workers, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, all of whom have proved their loyalty to the ideas of communism by practical acts. Its organizational unity ensures that it tirelessly shows concern for the development of internal party relations on the basis of developing internal party democracy, strictly observing the principle of democratic centralism, uncompromisingly struggling against formalism, increasing the creative initiative and activeness of communists, being highly exacting toward every party member, and exercising criticism and self-criticism and also shows concern for the purity of its ranks. Party members, writes K. U. Chernenko, must always bear in mind that authority among the people is enjoyed by those communists who, to quote Lenin, "take the most difficult, most responsible, and most serious duties upon themselves..." (op. cit., vol 39, p 246).

The CPSU is the acknowledged and most authoritative leader of the Soviet people, but the vanguard role in society is not decreed--it must be won in selfless struggle and recognized by the masses. The dialectical mutual connection between increasing the social activeness and initiative of the masses and enhancing the leading role of the party is an objective law of our social development. Being the leading and guiding force in society and of all state and social organizations, the CPSU stimulates the initiative of the localities, the labor collectives and all the working people, and channels the creative energy of the people in one direction, toward a common aim. The recent CPSU Central Committee resolution on further improving party leadership of the Komsomol and enhancing its role in the communist education of young people is fresh confirmation of this.

The theoretical arguments and concrete examples taken from the life of various party organizations, which are cited in K. U. Chernenko's book, indisputably prove that "the party confirms its political influence within society by tirelessly struggling for the good and happiness of the working people and by its ability to develop and implement policies which meet the requirements of a certain stage of our development" (p 17).

These requirements also determine the new features which characterize the implementation of the party's leading role in contemporary conditions. The book examines the key questions of party leadership in society's development at the initial and subsequent stages of mature socialism.

The deep world outlook, methodological and theoretical basis of the whole of the party's political and organizational activity is Marxism-Leninism. Every step the party takes in its practical activities in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy is in strict accord with the conclusions of revolutionary theory. The CPSU regards its constant creative development as one of its first precepts. The concept of developed socialism is a major contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory. This concept is further enriched and concretized in the works of K. U. Chernenko.

A key question in the whole of the party's intensive theoretical work is the definition of the degree of socioeconomic maturity reached by our society. The conclusion drawn by the party in recent years that our society is at the beginning of an historically protracted period--the stage of developed socialism, which, as it is perfect, will lead to a gradual transition to communism--has principled significance. By deepening and concretizing our ideas on the laws of the formation and development of a communist socioeconomic system, this conclusion has been the linchpin of the development of the whole of the party's contemporary strategy, which has nothing in common either with sluggishness in taking action or with skipping historically necessary stages. The essence of this strategy is reflected in the most important theoretical and political directives contained in K. U. Chernenko's speech on 25 April 1984 at a session of the CPSU Central Committee Commission for the drawing up of the new wording of the CPSU Program--the party's main theoretical and political document.

While complying with the "revolutionary dialectics of Marxist realism" (Lenin), the party primarily envisages fulfilling a whole series of major and

complex tasks which, by virtue of their origin and nature, relate to the first phase of communist formation.

Such an approach makes it possible to eliminate the differences revealed by life between clauses of the current program and the real course of social development and the experience accumulated by the masses, to definitively overcome simplified representations of the ways and duration of making the transition to the highest phase of communism, to provide a comprehensively considered characterization of developed socialism, its great advantages and far from exhausted potentials and to reflect both the achievements and the complex problems facing our society. While placing the main emphasis upon the historically foreseeable future, the new wording of the CPSU Program is called upon to outline the prospects and the ultimate aims for which we strive and to open up new social horizons. In this respect, it must be borne in mind that we still have to fully realize the socialist ideal on the way to the communist ideal.

The book provides an extensive characterization of the dialectics of the contemporary stage of our development, as well as an analysis of its sources and motivating forces.

Particular attention is devoted to one of the key methodological problems--the problem of contradictions under socialism. The contradiction is, as is well known, the "core" of materialist dialectics, the most comprehensive teaching on development. In a certain sense, it can also be fully regarded as the methodological "core" of the nonantagonistic contradictions specific to the new system that makes it possible to thoroughly explain the principled differences between the motivating forces of a society based on collectivist principles and the motivating forces of societies based on class antagonism, to consider the features of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism in comparison to already existing or mature socialist society, to methodologically and accurately evaluate the particular features of every stage in this period and to develop policies which are strictly in accord with the spirit of scientific and political realism.

On the basis of analysis of the processes taking place in the economic, sociopolitical and spiritual spheres, the book substantively illustrates that in developed socialist society, as in any social organism, there is a struggle between the old and the new and that not only constructive, but also negative tendencies are in operation. The latter can no longer be explained away as being merely "vestiges of the past" in the people's awareness and conduct. The causes of many of these "weak spots" should also be sought in current-day practice, in the errors of certain workers, in the real problems and difficulties of our progress forward, and in the shortcomings of educational activities.

The party adopts effective measures so that these and other negative phenomena disappear once and for all from the life of our society. The book concretely examines economic, political, administrative-legal and educational measures which are aimed at overcoming these phenomena and at increasingly firmly establishing an atmosphere of social justice, organization, order and discipline in the life of our society.

However, the problem of contradictions in the conditions of developed socialism cannot be reduced to this alone. Contradictions will remain a motivating force of progress even when money-grubbing and parasitism, black-marketeering and embezzlement of socialist property and other manifestations of antisocial behavior, all of which are alien to the nature of our system, have been completely eradicated. Today, the effects of the nonantagonistic contradictions inherent in mature socialism and the features of their solution precisely in the conditions of the strengthened sociopolitical and ideological unity of Soviet society require comprehensive study.

The book also thoroughly elucidates other major theoretical problems advanced by life. These include such a key problem as forming society's classless structure within the historical framework of the first phase of communism with the workers class playing a leading role in this process. In this respect, the author notes, "rushing forward and underestimating those major achievements in the erasing of interclass differences are equally inadmissible, these differences compelling the party to increasingly concentrate its social policy on overcoming differences that go beyond the bounds of individual classes and on resolving problems which require the most careful consideration of the features and interests of each group in our society" (p 281). Overcoming the fundamental differences between the city and the countryside, and between physical and mental work, perfecting the forms of the people's socialist self-government and strengthening the real democracy of our system in all spheres of social life are all factors in steadily uniting Soviet society.

Trends in the development of the socialist nations and international relations operate in the same direction of further consolidating the unity of the Soviet people. Resolving the national problem, as we inherited it from the capitalist past, on a genuinely just and democratic basis does not mean that forward movement has stopped in this sphere of social life. On the contrary, the dynamics of the social and economic processes give rise to new complex problems in national relations. This means, the author concludes, that, while developing the existing justified organizational forms and methods of work, others must also constantly be sought which will contribute to the flourishing of nations and to their rapprochement (p 442).

Combining socialist economic organization with the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution contains great potential for resolving these and other social problems. Introducing the latest technical decisions and advanced technology in production and rationalizing management will lead to cardinal changes in the content and nature of work and to the liquidation of heavy physical and unskilled manual labor, and will also change the social aspect of the workers class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. The idea of merging two revolutions--the scientific-technical and the social--notes K. U. Chernenko, must be given fitting recognition in the new wording of the CPSU Program (p 458).

Theoretical analysis of foreign policy factors and international relations plays a vital role in the development of the party's contemporary strategy. The correlation of forces in the international arena, the book points out,

will steadily alter the favor of socialism and peace. However, communists' optimistic view of the future cannot be based upon a simplified, black-and-white understanding of the movement of history.

While emphasizing the historically doomed nature of contemporary capitalism, it must be taken into account that it still possesses considerable and far from exhausted potentials for development, even in the conditions of its general crisis (pp 349, 459).

Both in domestic and in foreign policy Soviet communists firmly support internationalism. Any national narrow-mindedness is alien to the theoretical views of our party. The book convincingly shows the absurdity of claims that the CPSU has supposedly created a special "Sovietized" version of Marxism-Leninism. The whole of our experience, the author writes, as well as the experience of other Marxist parties, shows the notorious flimsiness of any attempts to ascribe national or regional exclusivity to the scientific theory of communists. Science in general does not lend itself to division into "Eastern" and "Western" and it cannot be "Africanized" or "Europeanized" and so forth. Marxism-Leninism is a science as well. No specific or peculiar features of the concrete conditions of revolutionary struggle and socialist construction can be understood or considered without reliance upon the truths of Marxism-Leninism that have been put to the test of time. History has shown that there is not, and there cannot be, a road to socialism if one bypasses the general laws revealed by Marxism-Leninism and confirmed by the experience of the USSR and other socialist countries and by the international practice of revolutionary struggle and the formation of a new society, just as there can be no successful progress along this path without comprehensive consideration of the national features of each country. The CPSU has always proceeded and continues to proceed from this in its theoretical work (pp 344, 401).

Steadily improving the well-being of the people has been and remains an immutable program requirement of the CPSU. This also determines organization of a task of paramount importance--that of forming a highly efficient economy, which is the basis for increasingly and fully satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the Soviet people and for swelling the power of our state. The comprehensive social, political and spiritual progress of our society primarily depends on the successes of the socialist economy and the resolving of immediate economic problems.

By realistically, and without a shadow of illusion or complacency, appraising what has been achieved in the economic sphere, and without over- or underestimating it, the party's Central Committee concentrates its attention on the key problems of economic development yet to be resolved, while bearing both immediate tasks and long-term aims in mind.

One of the main tasks is to set the economy on a path of intensive development and to sharply increase its efficiency. Fulfillment of this task presupposes making full use of the existing production potential and rapidly and continually reforming all branches of the national economy on the basis of introducing the contemporary achievements of science and technology, implementing major comprehensive programs, efficiently expending resources,

cardinally increasing labor productivity, perfecting the forms of management and developing the initiative and labor activeness of the masses.

Increasing the effectiveness of socialist agriculture and of our entire agro-industrial complex, which presupposes intensifying production and considerably increasing the feedback from the existing potential of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz, has paramount significance from both an economic and sociopolitical point of view.

All this taken together must raise the productive forces of Soviet society to a qualitatively new level. The party sets the acute problem of perfecting management of the economy and restructuring the economic mechanism. "There is no doubt that we must strengthen centralized management and planning and strive to make them more efficient and flexible.

The matter must be arranged in such a way that the general state economic organs channel all their forces into resolving problems which are really of key significance to the country. The subordinate organizations, either branch or local, can full well take some of the present concerns of these organs upon themselves" (p 13).

Work to bring the forms of economic operations into line with contemporary requirements also includes a number of economic experiments, the essence of which is to give more rights to the enterprises, to increase their responsibility, and to free them from excessive guardianship by the center.

Establishing a spirit of innovation, creative endeavor and bold initiative accompanied by well-thought-out economic decisions is an urgent demand of the time. In this lies one of the fundamental aspects of the new type of economic thinking. "We must decisively overcome all conservatism and stagnation. In a word, the slogan of the day in the economic sphere must be: With sure ideas and armed with experience--onwards to bold actions!" (p 14). Precisely this kind of attitude must determine our approach to production and management tasks in the coming 12th Five-Year Plan period so that it can be the five-year plan in which a decisive breakthrough is made in the cause of intensifying all branches of our national economy.

Principles capable of acting as powerful catalysts in speeding up social progress are inherent in the very nature of the socialist social system. It is important to give them full scope for them to be able to take effect. One of these principles is the keen sense of social justice cultivated in Soviet people by decades of living and working in the conditions of socialist society. They decisively condemn any manifestations of parasitism, self-seeking, striving to grow rich at someone else's expense, or taking more from society than one has given by one's labor. For our people social justice is not simply an idea or a moral principle--it is one of the foundations of social life and of the socialist system itself. That is why, K. U. Chernenko emphasizes, perfecting distribution relations and everywhere implementing the socialist principle of distribution according to work are among the most important of our concerns. Social justice must be strictly observed in daily matters, whether it is a question of wages and bonus payments, distributing apartments or passes, or rewards. Everything must be done according to

justice and in accordance with the working contribution of every individual to our common cause.

Achieving profound qualitative changes in the national economy means reliably ensuring the successful implementation of the large-scale program and constantly improving the life of the people. The party takes a general approach to this problem, not only envisaging raising the level of the working people's material well-being, but also ensuring their harmonious spiritual and physical development and an increase in their social activeness.

The party is steadfastly guided by that fundamental Leninist concept that educating the new man is not only a most important aim, but also a condition of success in communist construction. Hence, the paramount attention it devotes today to the tasks of ideological and political-educational work.

Perfecting the society of developed socialism is a living, creative cause. It is incompatible with a doctrinaire attitude and with "departmental" narrow-mindedness capable of viewing a problem only "within a limited range." Formalism, cliché, superficiality, and a breach between word and deed, K. U. Chernenko notes, begin precisely where educational tasks are isolated from economic, social and organizational tasks or are only mechanically combined with them. Both theory and practice indisputably testify that there is no problem either in science or in politics that can be resolved without touching upon a whole network of other problems which are linked with it but are frequently not only remote from the sphere in question, but even opposed to it.

Such, for example, is the mutual connection between material and spiritual production and between the problems of the economy and ideology.

The whole content of the book "The People and the Party Are United" shows that the "living soul" of Marxism-Leninism, materialist dialectics, is not only the living soul of the communist party's theory, but also of its policies, and that the art of "uniting opposites," of which Lenin spoke, is an inalienable feature of the contemporary experience of political leadership of society.

The party proceeds in its activities from the dialectical idea that it is impossible to raise the economy to a qualitatively new level without creating the necessary social and ideological prerequisites for this, just as it is impossible to resolve the immediate problems of socialist awareness without relying upon the firm foundation of economic and social policy.

When elaborating his teaching on the party of a new type, Lenin regarded the combination of scientific socialism with the workers movement as the essence of this party. The historical experience of our country and the whole world experience of socialist construction testifies to the fact that this combination is not an on-off act. This task constantly faces the communist party at all stages of revolutionary struggle and the building of a new society, and it is reproduced in its own way in the life and activities of one generation after another.

In contemporary conditions the problems of ideological and mass political work are given special significance. Today as never before, K. U. Chernenko points out, the success of party leadership of society depends on consistent observance of the Leninist principle of unity of ideological, organizational and economic activities. Building socialism and perfecting it does not only mean erecting contemporary plants and electric power stations and beautifying our land and our cities and villages. It is clear that it is impossible to fulfill the tasks of perfecting mature socialism without a great deal of work in the sphere of the people's spiritual development and their socialist education. An honest and aware attitude toward work is a fundamental principle of the socialist way of life. A most important task of education is to form a clear understanding in every individual of the necessity for conscientious work for the common good. In this respect it is not only the economic aspect that has significance, but also the ideological-moral aspect.

Exacerbation of the ideological struggle in the international arena and attempts by imperialist propaganda to poison the awareness of the Soviet people, distort the aims and meaning of our domestic and foreign policy, and block the growing influence of real socialism in the world also cannot be ignored. All this requires the content of ideological-educational work and its forms and methods to be brought up to date, and the offensive spirit of all of our propaganda to be intensified.

It is from this that the developed concept of the party's ideological activities of long-term significance, advanced at the CPSU Central Committee June (1983) Plenum, proceeds. The plenum provided a powerful impulse to perfect ideological-educational and mass political work in every aspect. The import of the plenum's decisions lies in setting in motion all the creative forces inherent in the ideological conviction and awareness of the masses, which forms the basis of their working and social activeness. Improving ideological and political-educational work and bringing it into line with the nature of the great and complex tasks of perfecting developed socialism is an all-party cause and active participation in it is the duty of every communist.

Today, K. U. Chernenko emphasizes, it must be instilled in the awareness of all communists that the decisions of the June Plenum are calculated on protracted, systematic work. This work must be based upon the fundamental theoretical conclusions and generalizations determining the drafting of the new CPSU Program. The level of all ideological-educational work depends upon the degree to which concrete measures and actions are organically bound up with this deep foundation of all party activity.

The social sciences are faced with great and responsible tasks in this connection. Having critically analyzed the state of our social sciences, the party has drawn a conclusion of principled importance on the necessity to decisively steer these sciences in the direction of fulfilling real, practical tasks set by life. Thoughtful analysis of social processes, detailed research into the mechanisms of operation of objective laws, an ability to perceive phenomena in their mutual connections and contradictory development, and an indissoluble link between theoretical research and the requirements of practice--this is what is demanded of social scientists today. Initiative and bold scientific search must be combined with a precision of world outlook

positions and methodological discipline of thinking. Accumulated experience of practically resolving complex problems awaits its comprehensive scientific interpretation and generalization. At the same time practice must be sensitive to science, attentively heed its conclusions and advice, and not multiply mistakes by acting counter to genuinely scientific principles and recommendations.

The book notes that the problem of the interaction of science and ideological practice and of overcoming a certain disconnection between the science and propaganda units merits special attention. The social sciences, the author emphasizes, must become the "smithy" of our ideological complex in which not only knowledge is forged, but ways and methods are also created for turning this knowledge into "direct organs of social practice and of the real, vital process" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, part 2, p 215). This dual role of the social sciences is inherent in the very foundation of our ideology, which is scientific not only by virtue of its content, but also of its methods of work among the masses.

Education today, the party points out, must be conducted on a broad front, covering all spheres in which the individual is shaped, skillfully utilizing our entire powerful information-propaganda arsenal, ensuring close interaction between the ideological institutions, the mass information and propaganda media, and all units of the ideological-educational complex, and attracting the greatest possible number of active members, and constantly relying upon them. "The main thing," says K. U. Chernenko, "is to shift the center of ideological efforts to the labor collective and the primary party organization" (p 469).

Improving the organization of the whole cause of education and perfecting the forms, methods and style of ideological work, including work within the party itself, and particularly with young communists, is a most important condition of augmenting the party's leading role and strengthening its ties with the masses. Given the indissoluble unity of party word and deed, the former must be intelligible to every individual and must shape his active position in life, his socialist awareness and his patriotic and internationalist convictions. All this is impossible to achieve without being able to see the individual with his own special characteristic and unique inner world behind the mass enterprises and the millions of figures indicating the scale of ideological work, without decisively eradicating sensation, ostentation, and political blather, and without appraising ideological activity by its main criterion--the working and political activeness of the masses. Efficiency and organization, clear control and work performance checks and an ability to achieve effective results must be inalienable features of ideological practice.

Not one question must remain without a clear answer and not one business-like proposal without the adoption of concrete measures. K. U. Chernenko notes that "no political activity is possible without the personal participation of all party cadres in the cause of education. Without direct contact with the masses, without the ability to attract people, and without the need to broaden one's theoretical outlook there is not and there cannot be a valuable party worker" (pp 387-8). The importance of this matter is underlined in the CPSU

Central Committee resolution on the participation of the leading cadres in the Estonian SSR in political-education work among the working people.

For Soviet society to be able to move confidently forward along the path of communist creation, each new generation must rise to a higher level of education and general culture, professional qualification and civic activeness. This, in point of fact, is a law of social progress. The reform of general educational and vocational schools now in progress in our country, which is a matter of immense general political significance, is the concrete embodiment of the requirements of this law. This book comprehensively substantiates the aims and tasks of the reform, the problems which arise in connection with its implementation, and ways of resolving these problems. Young Soviet people, the author emphasizes, must embark upon independent life as highly cultured, educated and industrious individuals. Consequently, it is very important to bring school and production closer together, to more organically combine training and education with productive labor within the ability of the student, and to intensify the world outlook content of the academic process and the formation in the student of Marxist-Leninist conviction, an ability for independent creative thought, and an awareness of his responsibility for the fate of the socialist motherland. In this work, as in work concerned with communist education as a whole, our guideline has been and continues to be the formation of the new man and the harmoniously developed individual.

Growth in the leading role of the party and the deepening of socialist democracy is a unified, integral and natural process. By virtue of its very nature our democracy and the perfecting of Soviet statehood is an important aspect of our society's progressive movement. The party is the motor and the motivating force of this progress. Internal party life and its norms and principles, K. U. Chernenko emphasizes, is a kind of original laboratory for forming new social relations and developing forms and methods of communist social self-government. It exerts a beneficial influence upon the development of the whole political system of Soviet society and primarily upon the further improvement of activities of the soviets--the political foundation of the USSR and a powerful instrument in socialist construction.

Today, the book says, our main general party task in leadership of the soviets consists of ensuring that their powers, consolidated in the Constitution, are constantly and daily expressed in both the content and the style of their activities and the soviets' wealth of potential is put to maximum use in practice. The role of the local soviets in economic and cultural construction must be enhanced in order to ensure the comprehensive development of the economy locally, a more solid barrier must be placed in the way of departmentalism, the various needs of the population must be more fully satisfied and public services must be improved. The soviets must exhibit persistency in the implementation of their rights. The role of the soviets must also be enhanced in control over fulfillment of decisions adopted by them and over observance of Soviet laws. All methods of party influence upon the activities of the soviets should be employed for this purpose, while increasing their efficiency and eliminating any elements of formalism. This order of the day must determine the activities of all party committees and all

communist deputies, through whom the party also implements its leading role in the soviets.

They are called upon to instill an organizing principle in the work of the soviets and to stimulate and guide the creative initiative of the elected representatives of the people.

While guiding the activities of the state organizations and economic organs, the party steadily complies with the Leninist requirement of clearly demarcating the functions of the party committees and these organs. The materials cited in the book convincingly show that this demarcation is an indispensable condition both of enhancing the leading role of the party and of broadening the powers of the soviets and increasing the efficiency of the work of the state apparatus and the social organizations. Without interfering in their functions, the party committees are obliged to concentrate their main efforts on working with the cadres, increasing exactingness toward them, organizing work performance checks and developing the activeness of communists and all the working people.

The book examines topical problems of the style of party work and the activities of the state apparatus in depth and from all sides.

The Leninist style is the greatest property of our party. It took shape and developed on the basis of unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, profound knowledge of the laws of social development, and an accumulation of skills ensuring a harmonious combination of revolutionary scope and communist efficiency. The Leninist style, the book notes, is a creative style that is alien to subjectivism and imbued with a scientific approach to all social processes. It presupposes high exactingness toward oneself and toward others, excludes complacency, and opposes any manifestations of bureaucratism and formalism. It is a style of deep faith in the people and great responsibility to them. A scientific nature, organization and efficiency, profound democracy, exactingness, criticism, and self-criticism are its determining features. The CPSU strives so that the Leninist style in all its richness and diversity is a requirement of the soul and an irreplaceable instrument of every party, soviet, and economic leader and every communist.

Expanding and deepening indissoluble ties with the masses is a law of party life. This theme stands out in all the materials of the collection. Loyal to the behests of its founder and leader, and constantly recalling his instruction that "only he who believes in the people and plunges into the spring of the people's living creatively will conquer and retain power" (Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." vol 35, p 61), the CPSU, writes K. U. Chernenko, has always regarded and continues to regard the main source of its strength and the guarantee of all its victories to be its indissoluble link with the people and its ability to inspire and organize the masses to struggle for communism (p 45). The party constantly takes counsel with the masses, carefully heeds public opinion, and strives so that all the state and social organs consider the proposals, critical observations and wishes of the working people. This is testified to by the practice of nationwide discussions of important laws and resolutions.

The book devotes a great deal of attention to work with the working people's letters and oral statements, which are a most valuable source of information and the moods and needs of the people. By generalizing this information, the party turns it into political decisions. The book critically analyzes the experience of party organizations in this matter and points out the main aspects of improving the work of the party and state apparatus for the purpose of ensuring operative, businesslike and efficient consideration of the people's initiative.

A decisive aspect of party work is the selection, placement, and education of the cadres, and control and verification of the fulfillment of adopted decision. Perfecting cadre policy presupposes party workers' mastery of political methods of guiding socioeconomic and spiritual processes, as well as a correct distribution of people while taking their individual features into account.

Contemporary demands made on the apparatus are primarily demands on people. Organizational activities are contraindicated by administration by mere injunction, fuss and haste, and the substitution of fruitless paperwork for businesslike efficiency. A broad political outlook, a great deal of specialist knowledge and an ability to ensure substantive, concrete and efficient leadership are required of party and soviet workers. At the same time, the book emphasizes, the authority of a leader and his ability to work with the people to lead them do not depend only on knowledge and businesslike experience. What is truly invaluable is what is known as the heightened coefficient of humanity--"qualities of the soul and an ability to respond to both human joy and human pain" (p 161).

In contemporary conditions the role of the personal example of the leader and of every communist is growing. The communist works and lives in sight of all. People judge the party by his words and deeds, and concern for the party's authority is his prime duty. Particularly great is the significance of the moral aspect of the party member and of his moral responsibility for his actions before the party and the people. "Frequently, comrades," K. U. Chernenko notes, "apart from our own conscience, we have no controller over us. This is when the vital position of a man is revealed--what he values, for what he works, and by what values he is guided. It is not only in action, in work that we are tested for reliability, but in our mutual human relations, perception of events, and our appraisal of them each of us is also examined for stability" (p 128).

One of the most important elements of interaction between the party and the masses is publicity. The people know about the resolutions adopted by party congresses. The Central Committee informs them about the work of its plenums and about the documents adopted by them. Information on the decisions of the Politburo and the Central Committee Secretariat is extensively and operatively published. Such things which would seem to be a strictly internal affair of the CPSU, such as accountability reports and elections to party organizations, are systematically elucidated in the press, on the radio and on television. The accountability reports of party committees thereby virtually take the form of reports to the working people.

The party devotes unremitting attention to the activities of the trade unions, the Komsomol, and other social organizations, while setting them an example of how they must work for the people and with the people. The party is connected to the people by thousands and thousands of threads. "The party values first ties with the masses and regards them as its great property. At the same time, it does not consider the process of strengthening its unity with the people to be already completed and not requiring further development. All of the party's activities--theoretical and practical, organizational-political and ideological-educational--are aimed at deepening its ties with the masses and further rallying the Soviet people around their communist vanguard. In this lies the guarantee of new victories in the struggle to fulfill the bright ideals of communism" (p 200).

The struggle for durable peace, freedom, the independence of the peoples and social progress has been and remains the immutable foundation of the foreign policy of the communist party and the Soviet state.

The book examines a broad complex of problems connected with the international conditions of CPSU activities and with the implementation of the Leninist policy of peace at the contemporary historical stage, the main features of which are determined by the decisions of recent party congresses. This policy, as the book convincingly illustrates, answers the vital interests of the Soviet people and of all progressive mankind.

The past years have been marked by a sharp activation of the most aggressive forces of American imperialism, which has embarked upon a path of open militarism, claims to world supremacy, resistance to progress, and violation of the rights and freedom of the peoples. "All this compels us," says K. U. Chernenko, "to devote the most serious attention to strengthening our country's defenses. The Soviet people do not desire an increase in weapons, rather a reduction in weapons on both sides. But we are obliged to concern ourselves with the sufficient security of our country and of our friends and allies. This we do. Let it be known to all that no lovers of military adventures will succeed in taking us unawares, and no potential aggressor can hope to avoid a crushing counterstrike" (p 19).

At the same time the complexity of the situation compels us to increase our efforts in conducting a policy of peace and international cooperation. The numerous constructive initiatives advanced in recent years by the USSR and other socialist countries serve this aim. These initiatives are finding increasingly broad support from various states, realistically-minded politicians, and the world public.

The activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state in the international arena have been based and continue to be based on the principles of internationalism. The book examines the question of the multifaceted nature of the very concept of "internationalism," a question which is important in both a theoretical and political respect. Complying with Marxist-Leninist teaching, the author notes, our party differentiates the general democratic and class aspects of internationalism and considers their dialectical mutual connection. Today all the peoples of the world are faced with the common task of preventing a world war and a thermonuclear catastrophe. World politics

must be the international cause of the popular masses. Guided by this, the CPSU works for the international cohesion of all sociopolitical forces which are ready and able to make their own contribution to strengthening peace.

Internationalism, which answers the main general democratic interest of the peoples--preserving peace on earth--K. U. Chernenko emphasizes, is fully in accord with the class content of the CPSU's foreign policy strategy, proletarian internationalism, and solidarity with fraternal socialist states and with revolutionary, antiimperialist and liberation forces.

The success of the struggle to preserve peace is, in many ways, determined by the amount of influence exerted by the socialist countries in the world arena, and also depends upon their cohesion and activeness and the purposeful and coordinated nature of their actions. The results of the recent economic summit conference of the CEMA member countries constituted fresh evidence of the strengthened unity of the socialist community, communist solidarity, and the inflexible will of the fraternal peoples to walk arm in arm along the path of building socialism and communism, struggling against aggression and militarism and safeguarding the peaceful future of the peoples.

The CPSU has regarded and continues to regard itself as an integral part of the international communist movement. Soviet communists, the book notes, regard it as their international duty to actively help to increase the movement's ideological and political influence and moral prestige and to strengthen its unity. This unity is one of the deciding factors of peace, since communists are that international force most consistently opposing war.

The CPSU has invariably acted and continues to act in support of peoples who have cast off the yoke of colonial dependence and embarked upon a path of independent development, and in support of the right cause of peoples who are today waging a struggle against the attacks of the aggressive forces of imperialism which are creating the most dangerous hotbeds of bloody violence and military conflagrations, first in one and then in another region of the world. This noble and pure stand taken by the party has been and remains one of the foundations of our foreign policy.

Loyalty to the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence determines the CPSU's relations with the capitalist countries. We are openly in favor, says K. U. Chernenko, of peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation with states on all continents. We are in favor of peacefully resolving all disputed international problems by means of serious, constructive negotiations conducted on an equal footing. The Soviet people are deeply convinced that peace can be preserved. The development of events can and must be turned away from confrontation toward detente, the roots of which run deep. Consequently, the Soviet people fully and ardently support the communist party's principled and consistent policy in international affairs.

By comprehensively and thoroughly revealing the wealth of content of the multifaceted activities of the CPSU, which is approaching its 27th Congress, Comrade K. U. Chernenko's book teaches communists and all Soviet people loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, the organic combination of continuity and innovation, the indissoluble unity of theory and practice, word and deed, and

the great art of translating the hopes and aspirations of the people into the language of concrete policy, arousing the initiative of the working people, and channeling this initiative into the one deep stream of communist creation. Every page substantively illustrates that the party does not and cannot have any interests other than the interests of the people and that the unity of the party and the people is firm and indestructible.

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CSO: 1802/19

K. U. CHERNENKO'S REPLY TO APPEAL BY IRISH PUBLIC FIGURE

PM121729 Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 84 (signed to press 13 Aug 84)
p 21
[PRAVDA, 12 August 1984]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Sean MacBride:

Your message expressing the intent to promote the attainment of general and complete disarmament is consonant with the sentiments now widespread among world public opinion.

It is obvious to every thinking person that a further build-up of nuclear arms and, even more so, endeavors to spread the arms race even to outer space, confront mankind with the threat of an all-out nuclear catastrophe.

You write that the latest statements by the U.S. President regarding the senselessness of a nuclear war and about the need to rid the earth of nuclear weapons ostensibly open up an opportunity for serious negotiations. As is well known to you, a good deal of words about peace and negotiations have already been uttered from the U.S. side. However, all practical actions by the U.S. administration are at variance with the proclaimed striving for talks and for improvement of relations. It is clear that this by no means signifies a change in the present U.S. stand.

We, for our part, have stated more than once that we would like to have good relations with the United States. But an appropriate will on both sides should be displayed regarding this issue. I think that the conclusion, prompted by your wide political and life experience, to the effect that sincere good intentions on both sides and appropriate preparation should be an indispensable and really solid foundation for any talks between the USSR and the United States is correct. We also adhere to this point of view.

The Soviet leadership believes that concrete deeds and not words of the U.S. administration can open the way to normalizing the atmosphere in our relations with the United States.

With best wishes of health and successes in your noble activities in the name of peace among the peoples.

K. Chernenko

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TAKING COUNSEL WITH LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 84 (signed to press 13 Aug 84) pp 22-32

[Article by O. Krivosheina, director of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Revolution Square. In all seasons, there is always a lively crowd here, in the center of the capital, at the entrance of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum. It would be difficult to find people from any part of our homeland or foreign country who have not visited this building alongside Red Square.

One of the tens of thousands of entries in our museum's visitors' book reads as follows: "We come here for advice from Lenin and clearly see the immortality of his ideas embodied in the life of the Soviet people headed by the Leninist Party."

The V. I. Lenin Central Museum is 60 years old. So far it has been visited by about 55 million people.

From the very first days of the Soviet system the party set the task of collecting, preserving and studying Lenin's works and documents, making them available to the people and extensively disseminating Lenin's ideas. The museum form of propaganda of Leninism assumed its position in the solution of this problem.

It was at its 13th Congress, held on 31 May 1924, that the RKP(b) passed the decree on opening the V. I. Lenin Institute. It pointed out that "the 13th Congress deems as the first and main task of the institute the most fully scientific and most thorough publication of Lenin's complete collected works.... The V. I. Lenin Institute must thus become a base for the study and dissemination of Leninism among the broad party and nonparty masses."

By decision of the congress the party's Central Committee was instructed "to concern itself with setting up a museum department at the V. I. Lenin Institute, open to the broad worker and peasant masses."

The institute's records show that the V. I. Lenin Museum opened on 31 May 1922. Initially it was located in the premises of the institute at 24 Bol'shaya Dmitrovka (today Pushkinskaya Street) and had some 700 exhibits.

In answer to the appeal of the 13th RKP(b) Congress for active and comprehensive assistance to the institute in gathering materials pertaining to the life and activities of the great leader of the revolution, letters, documents and memorabilia began to be received from working people in our country and abroad.

Vladimir Il'ich's relatives and his fellow workers and friends were the main source of museum exhibits.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, Anna Il'inichna, Mariya Il'inichna and Dmitriy Il'ich Ul'yanov, V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich, F. E. Dzerzhinskiy and many other comrades were of great assistance in the establishment of the museum. They gave valuable advice on Lenin's life and activities and donated Lenin's objects to the museum. The V. I. Lenin Institute donated to the museum Vladimir Il'ich's coat; party veteran N. A. Yemel'yanov sent some items which Lenin used while in hiding in Razliv in 1917.

The report which the V. I. Lenin Institute of the VKP(b) Central Committee submitted to the 14th Party Congress noted that the museum needed more space as a result of the great interest shown in it and its increased role in propagandizing Lenin's life and revolutionary activities. In 1925 and 1926 the V. I. Lenin Museum was provisionally housed in the premises of the Museum of the Revolution. When the institute moved from Bol'shaya Dmitrovka to its new specially built premises, it once again moved to its old address. The area of exhibits was expanded steadily and so did the number of museum visitors who, by 1928, already numbered 75,000. Until 1935 the museum occupied 14 halls in No 8 Bol'shoy Znamenskiy Pereulok (today Gritsevets Street). Lenin museums appeared year after year in the memorial homes in Ulyanovsk, Leningrad, Razliv and Shushenskoye.

Until 1935 the V. I. Lenin Museum was a department of the V. I. Lenin Institute and, subsequently, of the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute. In 1935 the VKP(b) Central Committee passed a resolution on establishing the V. I. Lenin Central Museum. The museum opened its doors to the visitors in the same building it occupies to this day on 15 May 1936. "The working class and all working people of the land of the soviets and the international proletariat," PRAVDA wrote that day, "were presented not only with another outstanding monument to Lenin but also a new powerful weapon for the propaganda of Leninism and a powerful means of familiarizing the people with the heroic history of our party." Ever since then the V. I. Lenin Central Museum has been the leading institution in the system of the country's Leninist museums.

The propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and of the life and revolutionary activities of Lenin and his ideological and theoretical legacy and the history and policy of the CPSU and the embodiment of Lenin's ideas are the main task of the Leninist museums which are the party's ideological and propaganda institutions.

The Soviet people and our foreign guests show great interest in the life and activities of the leader. The people come to Lenin and with every passing year the number of museum visitors increases. Today the V. I. Lenin Central

Museum is visited by more than 1.5 million people every year and another 8.5 million people visit its branches and memorial Leninist museums on an annual average.

Touching entries may be found in the visitors' books kept in our museum. "I was very pleased with my visit to the museum," Shapovalov wrote in 1936. "I recalled V. I. Lenin's certificate, for I had held it personally in my hands as I stood guard in front of his office, checking passes and documents... I remember a great deal about Vladimir Il'ich, things which I shall never, never forget." The museum personnel recorded Shapovalov's recollections on his meetings with Vladimir Il'ich. Many such recollections of people who had known and seen Lenin have been collected.

During the harsh period of the Great Patriotic War front-line veterans came to the museum. In 1943 Senior Lieutenant Otavin wrote in the visitors' book the following: "With a limited time at my disposal, I...once again came to see the V. I. Lenin Museum. After 9 months' continuous duty in the active army I had the luck to recall the great path covered by our beloved leader.... Let me say this: How good it is for us to have such an excellent museum. We shall end this war with the absolute victory over the treacherous enemy and I shall once again visit this museum and spend more time in it!" "My visit to the V. I. Lenin Museum," noted Guardsman Nazaretskiy, "inspires me to go on with the struggle against the fascist louts, for our beautiful homeland and for the bright, happy and joyful life of our children.... Victory will be ours!"

Space pioneers Yu. Gagarin and G. Titov, who visited the museum on 22 April 1962, wrote: "We would have very much liked to have seen our precious Il'ich witness the way the Soviet people are embodying his dreams in laying a path to the future for all nations on earth."

The tireless search for new documents and exhibits related to Lenin is a characteristic feature of the work of Lenin's museums. By 1936 the inventory of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum included more than 10,000 items; the number rose to 17,000 in the 1950s and more than 26,000 in the 1960s; today the main stock alone is about 100,000 items, excluding books and photograph negatives; all in all, with the scientific-auxiliary stock, there are more than 800,000 items.

Over a long period of time our museum personnel was in correspondence with the Rolls Royce automobile company, for Vladimir Il'ich had used a Rolls in 1921-1922. It turned out that an automobile of this model was in the possession of the Fishing Workers' Trade Union in Kerch. The automobile was delivered to Moscow. A special study proved that this was the very same automobile he used. After two breakdowns and amateurish repairs, major restoration work was required. It was done under the supervision of S. K. Gil', Lenin's driver, at the Moscow Automotive Vehicles Plant imeni Likhachev in the 1950s. The workers worked lovingly, sparing no effort, and today this automobile is in the museum as an exhibit, in the same condition as it was in Lenin's time.

The persistent and creative research conducted by the museum's scientific collective occasionally gives a new meaning to long-familiar exhibits and

provides us with new and priceless details of the leader's biography. For example, we learned a great deal about the history of the Red Army overcoat stored in our museum. It was presented to Vladimir Il'ich in 1922 along with a document naming him an honorary Red Army man and member of the 195th Yeyskiy Regiment. Both exhibits today hold a noted place among other museum materials.

The origin of the sandalwood walking stick has been determined as well. We learned that it was given to Lenin as a gift by Prasad, the president of the Indian government in exile in 1919. The museum's personnel also established that the simple aluminum key and soup spoons had been given to Vladimir Il'ich by the Ukrainian peasant Tit Vitkovskiy. This kind of research goes on.

A number of interesting entries have been received of late. They include new documentary photographs and books autographed by N. K. Krupskaya and D. I. Ul'yanov; the pamphlet "On Iks's Agrarian Program. Answer to the Critique of Our Draft Program by N. Lenin," published in Geneva in 1903 and 1904. This included Lenin's article "Answer to the Critique of Our Draft Program" and "Comment on the Minutes of the Second Congress of the Overseas League of the Russian Revolutionary Social Democrats," which was a gift to the USSR government from Lucas Industries Ltd. (Birmingham, England), and an album of photographs of Gorkiy and its surroundings (1902-1903). Other entries include a bust of Lenin made by the British sculptor Sheridan. Such sculptures of Vladimir Il'ich had been made in Canada in 1921 to help the hungry in Russia.

During the past decade alone, the museum stock has been increased by approximately 30,000 new items, 15,831 of which have become part of the main fund. Within that period 20 autographs by Lenin and members of the Ul'yanov family, 70 original documents, including leaflets of the RSDWP organization published between 1905 and 1907 and in 1917, and 178 personal objects belonging to the Ul'yanov family, many of which are now among the new museum exhibits, were received.

Priceless memorabilia collected by the museum may be seen in the exhibit, the methodological base of which are the works of Marx, Engels and V. I. Lenin, the Biographic Chronicle and Lenin's Biography, and documents of the CPSU and the international communist movement. The museum is guided in its scientific-exposition activities by the most important principles of communist party-mindedness, historicism and comprehensiveness in treating problems of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and Lenin's life and activities and CPSU history and politics.

More than 12,000 items are displayed in 34 halls of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum. Permanent and periodical exhibits may be found in 11 of them. Visitors may see Xerox copies of Leninist manuscripts, original issues of the newspapers ISKRA, VPERED, PROLETARIY and PRAVDA may be seen, carrying articles by Lenin and first editions of his works along with rich historical-party data, rare photographs, maps, charts and even works by outstanding painters and sculptors such as N. Andreyev, I. Brodskiy, A. Gerasimov, N. Zhukov, D. Nalbandyan, N. Tomskiy, I. Shadr and many others. The close combination of documentary exhibits with material objects and Leninist memorabilia is the distinguishing feature of Lenin's museum. We see Lenin as the founder of the

Marxist party of a new type, as the leader and organizer of the victory of the October Revolution, as the founder of the first socialist state in the world and as a scientist and a revolutionary.

The museum exhibits recreate the atmosphere in which Lenin worked. Thus, the first hall exhibits not only documentary photographs and originals of books and materials which lead us into the Ul'yanov family but also a fragment of Volodya Ul'yanov's room, which is an organic part of the exhibit. The second hall exhibits items dealing with the publication of Lenin's ISKRA period. Also exhibited here is the fireplace from the premises which Vladimir Il'ich rented in London at 30 Halford Square. In World War II the house was bombed by Hitler's aviators but the English working people were able to save and preserve the fireplace and some of the wallpaper, which they sent to Moscow in 1947. The hall which houses items on the Second RSDWP Congress includes a chessboard with a cache for clandestine publications, designed by Lenin. It was used by A. I. Ul'yanova-Yelizarova, Vladimir Il'ich's older sister. One of the halls contains objects used by Lenin while he was in foreign exile. They were given to our country by W. Piek, the noted leader of the international communist and worker movement.

Photographs and Xerox copies of Lenin's letters describe what Vladimir Il'ich worked on and what concerned and worried him. He rushed back to Russia after the victory of the February revolution. Telegrams to his homeland are exhibited on the stands entitled "Letters From Afar." In one of the letters of that period he writes: "You can imagine what a torture it is to be sitting here at this time for all of us" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 49, p 419].

As the theoretician of the socialist revolution and the inspirer and organizer of the victory of the Great October Revolution, Lenin plunged into many-sided, tremendous activities. The texts of Lenin's addresses of 1917 confirm the intensive work in which Vladimir Il'ich was engaged. His work "The State and Revolution" has been assigned a prominent place in the exhibit. Another item is the resolution passed by the RSDWP Central Committee of 10 (23) October 1917. We read in Lenin's handwriting that "acknowledging, therefore, that an armed uprising is inevitable and absolutely timely, the Central Committee suggests to all party organizations to be guided by this fact and to discuss and resolve all practical problems from this viewpoint...." (op. cit., vol 34, p 393). Next to it is Dzerzhinskiy's cape which Lenin wore after Central Committee sessions held in a safe house.

The first decrees of the October Revolution, leaflets and appeals are all unique documents exhibited. In his appeal "To the Population," Lenin wrote: "Comrade working people! Remember that you yourselves are now running the state.... Take care, preserve like the apple of your eye the land, the grain, the factories, the tools, the products and transport facilities. All of this will henceforth be entirely yours, it will belong to the whole people" (op. cit., vol 35, pp 66-67).

The visitors stop at the exhibits of interesting documents. They include the chronicle of a single day in Lenin's life--1 May 1920. On that day Lenin participated in a communist subbotnik, delivered several speeches at meetings

and dealt with problems related to the struggle against the interventionists and problems of the economic restoration of the country. Every one of Vladimir Il'ich's days was crowded to the limit with most complex party and governmental affairs.

Many of the exhibits describe Lenin's struggle for the purity of party ranks and their firmness and monolithic nature. "Our task," he said in founding the party, "is to preserve the firmness, the staunchness and purity of our party. We must try to enhance the significance and importance of party membership higher, higher and higher..." (op. cit., vol 7, pp 290-291).

These words by Lenin can be heard in the exhibits which reflect the historical achievements of the Soviet people, the leading role of the party in building socialism and problems of improving developed socialism, as well as the systematic struggle waged by the CPSU for the implementation of Lenin's plans. Another topic represented through documents and materials throughout virtually the entire museum is the struggle which Lenin, the bolsheviks and the Soviet state waged for peace.

Lenin's name has become a symbol of the struggle waged by the working people in the world against the forces of fascism and reaction and the struggle against the aggressive plans of imperialism and the threat of nuclear war. One of the exhibits is a small photograph of Vladimir Il'ich. Under it we read the signature of the Spanish poet Marcos Ana, who spent many years in jail in Franco's Spain. "One morning," the poet recalls, "a small photograph of V. I. Lenin was sneaked through my peephole. To me this was the greatest incentive of my life. It seemed to me as though Lenin himself was with me and I felt more relaxed."

It is hard to look at the exhibits indifferently: a handkerchief with the picture of Vladimir Il'ich, which the French communist Edmond Deveau, who was executed by a Hitlerite firing squad, kept to the last days of his life; a bronze sculpture of Lenin which the fascists had taken from our country to be resmelted in the city of Eisleben, but which the German workers-antifascists Paul Spengler and Alfred Jaeger, at the risk of their lives, were able to rescue. After the liberation of the city it was set on one of the squares. The museum has a copy of Vladimir Il'ich's sculpture. As a reminder of the horrors of the war also exhibited here are birds cut out of paper made by Hiroshima girls who had suffered from nuclear radiation. The struggle for peace is one of the museum's main topics.

During the past decade the museum has reorganized many of the exhibit halls which are now presented in a new, modern fashion. Through the efforts of artists and scientific associates a unified scientific-artistic presentation has been developed: the main items have been singled out. Active use has been made of color, type of materials, and equipment. New means of presentation and technical propaganda facilities have been applied. The museum's personnel must continue tirelessly to work on finding new artistic solutions in setting the exhibits in the halls, in an effort to achieve a greater expressiveness and emotional-political impact.

A number of interesting designs have been created for the new branches currently under construction. In some of them documents, exhibits and presentation elements which also provide information and depict the nature of the times provide an organic sense of unity.

The museum maintains close ties with the USSR Academy of Fine Arts. The museum's artistic counsel includes F. Reshetnikov, the academy's vice president, A. Kibal'nikov, D. Nalbandyan, K. Rozhdestvenskiy, N. Tomskiy and other members of its presidium. The council members help to resolve problems related to the creation of new exhibits in the museum and its branches, the development of art exhibits and new acquisitions and to select the best works for the museum inventory.

The most important direction in our work is to propagandize the resolutions of party congresses and CPSU documents. In accordance with the 26th Congress materials the hall on the activities of the communist party under contemporary conditions was reorganized. Materials of subsequent Central Committee plenums are extensively represented.

The resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which became a program for improving ideological work by our entire party, gave a new impetus to the creative efforts of the museum's collective. As Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out, the party ascribes prime importance to the study of the ideological legacy of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin. The museum's personnel try to take more fully into consideration the higher cultural standards of the Soviet people and their demands and to adopt a differentiated approach to the various groups of visitors and to propagandize Lenin's ideas in an aggressive spirit.

One cannot imagine the activities of Leninist museums without permanent contacts with party and Komsomol organizations and joint work with them in sponsoring a variety of projects.

The planning of our museum's work presupposes the active use of all means at our disposal, such as exhibits, lectures and exhibitions, in resolving the problems which face the working people today in building developed socialism in our country and the communist upbringing of young people in the spirit of the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Leninist party and the Soviet people.

Topic exhibits on Lenin, the communist party, the most important historical and revolutionary events in the life of our country and the international communist and worker movements offer great opportunities in developing our efforts in educating the working people in the heroic traditions of the party and people. They are periodically sponsored by the V. I. Lenin Central Museum and its branches and a number of memorial Leninist museums.

A recent exhibit was devoted to "Lenin's Party From Congress to Congress," which was inaugurated on the eve of the 26th Congress, and "The 26th CPSU Congress--A New Landmark on the Path of Building Communism." An exhibit was dedicated to gifts presented to the congress by the fraternal communist and worker parties; exhibits dealt with the basic concepts contained in the

party's documents adopted on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the 110th anniversary of V. I. Lenin's birth, and the 80th anniversary of the Second RSDWP(b) Congress. A number of exhibits have dealt with paintings, designs, sculptures, posters, stamps and badges. Between 1974 and 1983 the museum held 98 new exhibitions, some of them in plants, kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The Soviet people and foreign guests show an infinite amount of interest in the life and activities of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. Over the past 10 years more than 150,000 lectures have been read on the subject. This is the main form of the museum's work. Topic and problem lectures such as "Leninism Is the Revolutionary Banner of Our Epoch," "The Marxist-Leninist Theory of the Leading Role of the Communist Party and Its Further Development in the Resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and Central Committee and CPSU Central Committee Plenums," "The Increased Leading Role of the CPSU Under Developed Socialist Conditions," "Basic Features of the Leninist Workstyle and Their Implementation by the CPSU Under Contemporary Conditions" and lectures on Lenin's life and CPSU history enjoy great popularity.

Party propagandists and political reporters are constant museum visitors. The museum sponsors seminars for secretaries of primary party organizations, classes for young party members and instruction sessions with heads of theoretical seminars within the party education system, who are studying Lenin's biography. Lecture cycles and motion pictures such as "Lenin's Cause Is Alive and Winning," and "Implementation of the Resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress," and meetings with party, war and labor veterans, delegates to the 26th Party Congress and the 19th Leninist Komsomol Congress and trade union workers have become universally popular.

Within the period we mentioned, the museum has sponsored some 2,200 different mass-political projects attended by 601,000 people.

Today the museum's personnel are focusing their attention on more active educational work with students, a task which was set at the April 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. We not only sponsor solemn acceptance of new members by the Pioneer organizations, the presentation of Komsomol cards and meetings with school students and students of vocational-technical schools with veterans but also lecture cycles for young people on the subjects of "We Are Loyal to the Behests and Cause of Lenin and the Party," and "Young People on the Party." Leninist days for students in the various Moscow rayons and Lenin classes are held.

Some of the projects carried out last April included classes with the youth faculty of the Marxism-Leninism University of the Moscow City Party Committee; a Leninist day for secondary school students in Moscow's Brezhnevskiy Rayon, including a meeting with F. K. Zuykov, delegate to the 3rd RKSM Congress and K. K. Maksimova-Kozhina, a party and Komsomol veteran, and showings of parts of documentary and feature motion pictures; a Leninist day for the winners of the socialist competition at the Nakhodki ship repair yards, the program of which called for a visit to the V. I. Lenin mausoleum, meetings with the museum's staff and a viewing of an exhibit; an international Leninist class taught for the students of the University of the Friendship Among the Peoples

imeni Patrice Lumumba and their meeting with party veterans; a motion picture showing for secondary school students in Moscow's Kalininskiy Rayon; a Lenin day for leading production workers at Mosenergopromstroy; and lectures read by personnel of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism on Lenin's biographical chronicle. Interesting meetings were held between working people and USSR Supreme Soviet deputies.

With increasing frequency our museum is sponsoring days dedicated to the various rayons and oblasts. Literary and poetic works on Lenin are read as well as excerpts of recollections about him; and music favored by Vladimir Il'ich is performed. The popular Soviet actors Yu. Kayurov, V. Lanova, M. Ul'yanov and others are permanent participants in such meetings.

The museum sponsors concerts by noted musicians. In particular, a big concert was performed from the cycle "Music in the Ul'yanov Family," the program of which included works by Beethoven, Borodin, Tchaikovskiy and Glinka, performed by the noted musicians T. Nikolayeva, V. Dulova, Z. Sotkilava, V. Tret'yakov, and others.

The museum's personnel hold frequent meetings with workers and farmers during collective trips at which they deliver lectures at enterprises in Moscow, in the oblast's sovkhozes and kolkhozes, at the Baykal-Amur Mainline, in Tyumen Oblast, in the northern part of the country and in the Russian Nonchernozem.

Also included in the scientific-methodical management of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum are its branches in Ulyanovsk, Leningrad, Baku and other cities, as well as memorial homes and apartments in which Vladimir Il'ich lived and worked. Our associates also provide great help to Leninist museums and rooms set up on a voluntary basis.

In the final account, all activities of these institutions are aimed at making no single person who has come to Lenin indifferent and for a visit to the museum to be not only a means of acquiring new knowledge but something which will long be remembered and would make everyone to think once again about his own contribution to the implementation of Lenin's behests and enable him yet once again to become aware of the greatness of Lenin's genius. This is confirmed by the impressions recorded by many visitors. "This is my third visit to the Lenin Museum," writes worker B. Gafurov, in describing his visit to the museum branch in Tashkent. "How great was the love for the great leader with which the people created this museum! After each visit one is filled with a sense of great pride in the homeland and in one's own Tashkent and one wishes to work even better."

Following are lines from the impression recorded by Hero of Socialist Labor V. Kemashvili, delegate to the 26th CPSU Congress: "I am a frequent visitor of the Tbilisi branch of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum. To me the museum has become a second home. Whenever I visit it I study with a feeling of deep emotion V. I. Lenin's life, the life of this greatest and most modest person whose name is infinitely precious to all Soviet people, to every working person." Angolan students, who visited the branch in Baku, wrote the following: "Lenin's ideas have today spread throughout the globe and penetrated even the most remote corners of the planet. The struggle waged by

the Angolan people against imperialism and colonialism and for a bright future is also linked to Lenin's person. We are happy to have had the opportunity to study in Lenin's country. We are grateful to the personnel of the V. I. Lenin Museum for helping us to see and understand better Lenin's genius and to learn more about the life and activities of this great man--the true friend of all working people and the oppressed, and the leader of the world's proletariat."

Our party is showing great concern for the dissemination of the ideas of Leninism through museum facilities and the expansion of the network of Leninist museums. Currently the staff of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum is implementing the resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee on opening new branches in Kazan, Krasnoyarsk, Kuybyshev, Ufa and Frunze. We are drafting topic-exhibition plans for the branches to be opened in the future in Alma-Ata and Minsk. Together with the personnel of the new branches a number of problems related to the even fuller development of the Leninist theory and CPSU history and the need to present the basic Leninist and party documents in such a way that the exhibits may be convincing, emotional and different and for each one of them to have its unique aspect and attractiveness is being resolved. We are helped in the solution of all these problems by party history and science. Materials of V. I. Lenin's biographical chronicles and historical essays of a number of republic, kray and oblast party organizations and rich historiography enable us to formulate the proper principles governing this project. The personnel of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism are helping us tremendously in this project.

The artistic presentation and the creation of new works of art and designs special for each branch and new sculptures offer extensive opportunities in preparing exhibitions. Such work is being conducted in the operating and newly organized branches. As we know, the emotional influence on museum visitors is achieved with the help of technical audiovisual means. Some experience has already been acquired in this matter. As a whole, however, it is still not sufficiently widespread. The V. I. Lenin Central Museum is successfully showing the motion picture "The Living Lenin," and the wide-screen motion picture "Days Which Shook the World." A widescreen system has been installed also in the new building of the "V. I. Lenin's Funeral" museum-pavilion. The Tashkent branch of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum as well has good technical facilities for propaganda. Our experience was clearly manifested in setting up the exhibit in the new building of the Kiev branch, the inauguration of which, on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the USSR, was yet another confirmation of the friendship and fraternity among the peoples of our multinational homeland. The documents of the exhibit, individual elements of presentation and technical facilities were shipped here from Moscow, Leningrad, Yerevan, Groznyy, Riga, Bashkiriya and the Urals.

During the last decade a number of new museums have been opened, such as V. I. Lenin's first work office in Smolnyy, the apartment-museum of the Ul'yanov families in Kiev and Ulyanovsk, the V. I. Lenin home-museum in Vyborg, the V. I. Lenin Museum (in the apartment of A. I. Ul'yánova-Yelizarova) in Moscow, and the V. I. Lenin Museum in the home of the Shul'gin peasant family in Gorki. New modern documentary exhibits were prepared and opened in the Lenin Museum homes in Podolsk and Kostino.

One of the important trends in the activities of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum is the preservation of Leninist memorial sites and the restoration and preservation of museum items and restoration to their original condition. The museum has helped in the creation of a memorial area at the V. I. Lenin home-museum in Ufa. Extensive work is under way in Ulyanovsk, where the appearance of the streets as they were during the second half of the 19th century is being faithfully restored. Memorial areas are being organized in Kazan, Shushenskoye and Kuybyshev. A great deal has been accomplished in accordance with the party's decisions on creating the "Gorki Leninskiye" Historical Reserve. One-of-a-kind work is being done in that area including the restoration of the natural environment.

All this is based on the painstaking and persistent efforts of scientific associates, archive searches and profound studies of sources and publications and talks with eyewitnesses and veterans.

Lenin was an emigre for some 15 years. He lived in 12 foreign countries, hiding from the tsarist government. The opening of Lenin museums in a number of these countries has been the result of the love and respect felt for the leader of the world proletariat. They are engaged in extensive dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideas and are educating the working people in the inspiring example of the life and activities of Vladimir Il'ich and contributing to the further strengthening of the friendship between our peoples.

The V. I. Lenin Central Museum is developing and intensifying its comprehensive relations with 20 Leninist and 11 historical-revolutionary museums abroad. Regular encounters, creative contacts among managers, training seminars for scientific associates and lecturers in foreign Leninist museums and exchanges of exhibits are practiced. Between 1974 and 1983 our museum prepared and held in 22 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and Central America 132 exhibitions with sets of documents on topical problems of Marxism-Leninism and noteworthy events and dates in the history of the CPSU and the Soviet people. During that time the museum visitors, in turn, have become familiar with 26 exhibits from abroad. They have included "Ho Chi Minh. Life and Activities (On the Occasion of the 90th Anniversary of His Birth)," "V. I. Lenin and People's Mongolia," "V. I. Lenin and Czechoslovakia," an exhibit on the occasion of the centennial of G. Dimitrov's birth; and numerous exhibits of foreign posters, paintings and stamps.

The creation and advancement of Leninist museums in other countries involve most interesting finds.

At the beginning of the 1950s the personnel of the historical museum in Leipzig began to look for the printing press which printed the first issue of ISKRA. A great number of difficulties arose, for the newspaper had been printed under most strictly clandestine conditions. Lenin arrived in Leipzig in December 1900 to speed up the publication of ISKRA. It was precisely from here that at the end of 1900, the newspaper was shipped to Russia in false-bottom suitcases, carrying to the workers the flaming Leninist appeal: "In front of you stands the enemy's fortress in all its might.... We must capture this fortress and we shall capture it if we join all the forces of the

awakening proletariat with all the forces of the Russian revolutionaries within a single party to which anything that is alive and honest in Russia will be attracted" (op. cit., vol 4, pp 376-377).

The search conducted by veterans who were familiar with the press was successful. Max Purschwitz, a participant in the German labor movement, responded to the appeal published in the newspaper LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG. It turned out that the first issue of Lenin's ISKRA was printed in the press owned by the social democrat Herman Rau, in the outskirts of the city, and that the Russian script for the publication had been procured by the German social democrats, who were helping Vladimir Il'ich, from presses which were printing religious books in Russian.

A museum was opened here by decision of the SED Central Committee, in which the situation as it was in December 1990 was carefully recreated: the setting cases, the rolling press and the printing press with its machine drive. One of the exhibits is a red flag with the Soviet seal and the inscription "Follow Lenin's Path and You Will Win. Long Live the Red Front!" In 1926 this banner was presented by the Leningrad workers to the members of the Red Front in Saxony. During the period of fascist reaction it was kept by the worker Gustav Mettin, who survived the hell of Buchenwald.

An exact duplication of Leipzig's press--a gift of the SED Central Committee--holds a noted place in the V. I. Lenin Central Museum.

No less interesting finds were made by the personnel of the V. I. Lenin Museum in Prague. Here was the room in which the meetings of the 6th (Prague) RSDWP Conference were held under Vladimir Il'ich's chairmanship in January 1912.

"Vladimir Il'ich," N. A. Semashko recalls, "planned most thoroughly all details of the organization of the conference. He was obviously excited, for the success of the conference would determine the success of the party's consolidation."

In a letter dated 1911, Lenin wrote to the Czech social democrat Antonin Nemetz: "The most important thing to us is the possibility of organizing the matter in a supersecret manner. No one, no organization should be aware of the project. (The conference is social democratic and, therefore, according to European laws, legal. However, most of the delegates are without passports and cannot give their real name.)" (op. cit., vol 48, p 40).

The full text of this letter had long been known and photocopies of the letter existed as well without, however, the second page. The original was considered lost. The museum's personnel made great efforts to find Lenin's document by seeking eyewitnesses and studying archive data. In 1979 the newspaper VECERNI PRAGA wrote about the 6th RSDWP Conference and about Lenin's letter to A. Nemetz; his granddaughter, who read the article, found in the family files the yellowing pages signed by Lenin. She reported her find to the Prague Museum and, subsequently, presented Lenin's letter to G. Husak, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee general secretary and Czechoslovak Socialist Republic president. Shortly afterwards, it was presented to our country.

The personnel of Leninist museums in Poland are engaged in extensive research. The circumstances of the times have been extensively restored in the homes and premises where Lenin lived; the newspapers and books he used in his work have been assembled. In Poland Vladimir Il'ich wrote some 400 of his works for the party press. His activities and connections with the Polish revolutionaries are exhibited in detail in the museums in Warsaw, Crakow, Poronino, Bialy-Tunitse and Nowy-Targ.

The search for the necessary materials for the opening of a V. I. Lenin Museum in Helsinki, in the apartment formerly held by Gustav Rovio, took place with the participation of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum. G. Rovio, who was the police chief of the Finnish capital in 1917, concealed Lenin from the persecution of the provisional government in his premises. The personnel of the Helsinki City Historical Museum selected and exhibited at the V. I. Lenin premises-museum copies of the telephone set, the desk and the desk lamp used by Lenin. It was here that Lenin completed his book "The State and Revolution." What kind of person was Vladimir Il'ich during that most difficult period in the post-July days of the Kerenskiy government? G. Rovio recalls that Lenin displayed "amazing self-control and composure. He always followed a way along which he could have been arrested at any moment and immediately sat behind his desk and got to work." The exhibits show the visitors the intensive rhythm of Vladimir Il'ich's life, when time was running out for the old age.

In November 1921 Lenin received in Moscow a Mongolian delegation and met with D. Sukhe-Bator, the leader of the Mongolian People's Revolution. A copy of the peasant whip in the handle of which Sukhe-Bator had brought greetings to Vladimir Il'ich from Mongolian working people is exhibited at the V. I. Lenin Central Museum.

The inauguration of a Leninist museum in Ulan-Bator, in the premises of the Central Historical Museum of the Mongolian People's Republic, which took place in 1967, was a sign of respect on the part of the Mongolian people for Lenin. The Lenin Museum, with its rich documentary-illustrative materials and technical propaganda facilities, was solemnly inaugurated in a new, specially built premise in 1980. The V. I. Lenin Central Museum took most direct participation in the creation of this memorial to Lenin on ancient Mongolian soil.

Over the past 10 years we have been given practical aid in the organization of new Leninist museums in the city of Zasnitsa (in the north of the GDR), in the Polish city of Cracow and in holding expositions on Leninist topics in Kabul, the capital of revolutionary Afghanistan, in the Finnish cities of Paraenene and Kotke, in Aden, the capital of Democratic Yemen, and in the improvement and reorganization of documentary exhibits of Leninist museums in Prague, Bratislava, Poronino, Warsaw, Leipzig, Tamper and Paris.

The cause we share with our foreign colleagues is to disseminate the life-bringing Marxist-Leninist ideas, the ideas of peace, construction, progress and friendship among nations.

... Tens of thousands of people visit the Leninist museums daily. Again and again they turn to the immortal exploit of Lenin's life and activities, discovering for themselves the invincible power of Marxism-Leninism and the greatness of the cause of the Leninist communist party.

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CULTIVATING CLASS SENSE AND POLITICAL VIGILANCE

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pp 33-43

[Article by P. Sardachuk, secretary of the Ivano-Frankovsk Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Part--]

[Text] The Soviet individual, cultivated by the socialist system and educated by the Leninist party, combines remarkable qualities--deep belief in the rightness and invincibility of communist ideas, high civic spirit and ardent patriotism and internationalism.

As we progress forward, there is not only an increase in the opportunities for the spiritual growth of the individual in the process of social development, but also in the corresponding demands made upon him by society. In his time V. I. Lenin mercilessly criticized those whose convictions were only skin-deep and pointed out the vital necessity to cultivate in the working people and all fighters for social justice a keen political sense and an ability to "seek out the interests of a given class behind any moral, religious, political, or social phrases, statements, and promises" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 23, p 47). Lenin taught us to tirelessly struggle against the bourgeoisie, including "by means of ideology and education..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol 41, p 401). In the opinion of Vladimir Il'ich, this work acquired particular importance in conditions when the forces of the old world launch a frontal attack against socialism, which is growing and becoming stronger, and this fully corresponds to the present situation when imperialism, primarily American imperialism, is increasing and forcing the danger of a nuclear war.

The organizers of the anticommunist "crusade" place considerable hope in their adventurist plans on actions aimed at undermining the spiritual values of our life, and they are increasingly broadly developing an insidious "psychological war" for the minds and hearts of people.

Communists and the forces of progress cannot help but react to the intrigues of imperialism, and they duly rebuff any information-propaganda intervention. Our party strives to decisively suppress any intrigues by the class enemy and to counteract the contrivances of anticommunists with a system of measures aimed at enhancing the socialist awareness of the Soviet people, developing in

them an immunity to alien class views and morals, and exposing the groundlessness and falsity of imperialist propaganda.

Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast persistently works on fulfilling the decisions of the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, including its directives concerning the necessity to perfect the class education of the working people. Efforts in the spiritual sphere are primarily aimed at forming in the population an integral revolutionary world outlook, loyalty to the ideas and banner of Marxism-Leninism, and selfless devotion to the cause of the workers class and the interests of the Soviet state. The obkom has adopted resolutions during the last 2 to 3 years in particular regarding matters such as improving the international education of the working people, working with young students and the creative intelligentsia, struggling against the influence of bourgeois propaganda and so forth. The party organizations strive to convey the whole force of Marxist-Leninist conviction to the broad masses and adopt a creative and differentiated approach to organizing communist education in the industrial and agricultural labor collectives, in the higher education institutes and secondary schools, among women and young peoples and in residences. The ideological commissions under the party obkom, the city and rayon party committees, and also in the large-scale primary party organizations, have recently stepped up their activities appreciably.

The greatest success is achieved where the party committees skillfully combine the efforts of all social organizations and consider local conditions and regional peculiarities just as much as the specific feature of the means and methods utilized by ideological opponents.

But this is only one aspect of activities, albeit an important one. Another and no less relevant aspect is creating a favorable moral-psychological climate and friendly atmosphere at every enterprise and in every institution and in kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The firmness and cohesion of the labor collectives is facilitated, for example, by the fact that the proposals and critical observations made by the working people are studied throughout our country, since they concern various aspects of production life, culture, everyday life and social relations. United political days, at which problems troubling the socialist community are submitted for discussion, have become regular practice. Work improvement through letters has also yielded a positive effect. The party obkom and its departments are quick to react to signals from the provinces, and not one passes unnoticed.

We are aware that while developing his ideological intervention, the class enemy counts a great deal upon certain historical circumstances and the geographical position of the Carpathian Kray. The western oblasts of the Ukraine embarked upon a path of socialist development later than the others--only in 1939. In the pre-Soviet period, and then during the years of the fascist occupation, hatred of socialism and of the USSR was planted in the awareness of the Carpathians. Organizations of Ukrainian nationalists and the Uniate Church, which is closely connected with them, once again cunningly operated there. And now we are literally on the frontlines of ideological opposition. A border oblast is always a special region where the smoke from the anti-Soviet fire is constantly felt.

The subversive centers of imperialism try to utilize ties between inhabitants of our oblast and their relatives living in the United States, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, England, France, the FRG and other capitalist countries as a channel of penetration. It is a well-known fact that up until 1939 approximately 100,000 Carpathians abandoned their native land, escaping from need and disaster. Personal contacts, correspondence and exchanges of parcels between relatives are fairly extensive. Anti-Soviet elements even strive to give these an appropriate ideological coloring. Carefully disguised attempts are made to reorientate the values of even a small section of Soviet people, and especially young people. For this purpose Western "standards of living" are lauded, individualism extolled, private ownership instincts aroused and religious, nationalist and other harmful sentiments fanned.

This, so to speak, is the "mass variation" of the enemy's plans and actions. But there is also another variation: searching with the aid of the same means for individuals for intensive ideological processing for the purpose of using them later as agents for conducting subversive work within our country. This variation was used by the CIA and by the leaders zealously serving it of the so-called foreign sections of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists when processing an inhabitant of Ivano-Frankovsk, lecturer at the Medical Institute Mikhail Yevgenyevich Kukhtya. After carefully "sounding him out," he was considered "one of theirs" and was given, as is the practice within the circle of "knights" of the cloak and dagger, the code name "Orest," and an operation later began under the same name. For the purposes of the operation, the Washington "chiefs" did not begrudge a cent, although a considerable amount of the money did not get as far as "Orest," having remained in the sticky hands of the head of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists, Ya. Stetsko. But M. Kukhtyak was also given considerable means--more than \$20,000. In addition, he received various items to the value of several tens of thousands of rubles.

However, the gamble on "Orest" proved false: M. Kukhtyak did not bargain with his own conscience and was not enticed by the silver coins from the other side of the ocean. At a press conference organized by the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ukrainian SSR Union of Journalists, he exposed the dirty mechanics of the subversive actions of the imperialist special services and revealed the insidious plans of their minions.

The opprobrious finale of yet another anti-Soviet diversion is natural. Whatever refined methods our class enemies may resort to, they are doomed to fail in the end. The fact of the matter is that profound and irrevocable changes, including the people's consciousness, have taken place in our kray. Of course, soviet power in the western oblasts of the Ukraine is comparatively young, but this makes the gratifying changes achieved there over the course of slightly more than 4 decades all the more striking. And these changes have literally taken place before the eyes of those who experienced the oppression of bourgeois government. The working people of Carpathia had their fill of the "blessings" of capitalism under the reign of monarchic Austro-Hungary and then of bourgeois-landowning Poland. This marvelous kray was their agrarian-raw materials appendage, and industry was extremely poorly developed. Domestic and semi-domestic production predominated the former Stanislawow Voivodship until 1939; the relatively large, by the standards of that time,

enterprises could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The proletariat was most cruelly exploited. Eighty percent of the workers wages were below the officially established minimum, and the wages of 28 percent amounted to only one-third of this minimum. The working peasantry suffered from either a total lack or a shortage of arable land and were crushed by innumerable requisitions. Mass unemployment, poverty, hunger and disease raged in the towns and country, and there was a high mortality rate among the population. The majority of inhabitants were either illiterate or semi-illiterate. The working people had no political rights and were subjected to social oppression, policy tyranny, and national oppression.

Consequently, people emigrated from this "godless" kray, although a heated struggle was being simultaneously waged for social and national liberation and for reunification with the Soviet Ukraine within the USSR. This struggle, led by the Communist Party of the West Ukraine (CPWU), was of a mass and resistant nature. Having merged in 1939 with the liberation campaign of the Red Army in the lands of the West Ukraine, this struggle was crowned with victory, thus opening the path leading to the fulfillment of the working people's age-long aspirations. The working people with weapons in their hands defended the achievements of socialism and the system ensuring a free and happy life during the years of the war against fascism, and also during the first postwar years in the struggle against the remnants of the exploitative classes and nationalist bands.

The revolutionary, combat and working traditions of the older generation, its experience and ability to discern the true face of the class enemy under whatever guise, contribute to the ideological-political tempering of the working people, and especially of young people.

The class awareness of the working people is not only based upon an understanding of the conflict between the interests of the popular masses and the self-seeking aspirations of the exploitative classes, but also upon the vitally important true achievements made under the banner of the great teaching of the workers class--Marxism-Leninism.

Thanks to the concern of the communist party and the Soviet state, the selfless fraternal aid of the Soviet peoples, and the self-sacrificing labor of the masses, radical social transformations have been carried out in the kray that have made it possible to overcome centuries-long backwardness in a historically short period of time and to bring our economic and social development in its main indexes up to the same level as that of the other oblasts in the Soviet Ukraine. Implementation of the measures planned by the CPSU to speed up the industrial development of the western Ukrainian SSR has yielded beneficial results. A contemporary multibranch industry has been formed in Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast, and branches determining scientific-technical progress have occupied a leading place within it. The total volume of industrial production has increased 35 times in comparison to 1940. Large-scale, technically well-equipped and, for the most part, economically strong collective farms now function in place of the multitude of small-scale, individual peasant farms that barely made ends meet. The output of agricultural and livestock products is steadily increasing.

Economic success, as is well-known, is the basis of improving the working people's well-being. Thus, the housing fund of Ivano-Frankovsk has increased more than 5 fold during the postwar years, and that of Kalush--15 fold. More than half of the oblast's inhabitants have moved into new apartments or had their living conditions improved. You would not recognize the villages; the majority are provided with all amenities and are being built according to general plans.

The flourishing of science, the people's education and culture also must be mentioned. Before reunification not a single higher education institute or scientific research institute existed on the oblast's territory; now three institutes, 18 special secondary academic institutions, and approximately 20 scientific research and project-design organizations are operating there.

Present-day reality and the life of any Carpathian town or village indisputably testify to the real blessings the socialist system has brought to the working people. The history of our kray, its path to the present happy day and the indisputable advantages of the socialist way of life were reflected as if in a dew drop in the fate of Yustyn Todorovich Lichuk, for example. Born of a large, poor family in the village Stetsevo in Snyatynskiy Rayon, he experienced the burden of need, a half-starved existence and the social and political oppression of capitalism in the past. In despair he set off to work in Canada, where he lived for 4 years. He worked like a slave and earned next to nothing. He was expelled from Canada for participating in a strike movement. He went there with hopes and returned home with empty pockets! But the years of wandering had taught Yustyn Lichuk a great deal. Upon his return home, he joined the ranks of fighters for the kray's social and national liberation and for Soviet power. In September 1939, he was elected chairman of the revolutionary committee in his native village; in 1940, when kolkhozes began to be formed in Carpathia, he became one of the organizers of a collective farm in the village of Stetsevo. For more than 3 decades he worked as chairman of the Pershe Travnaya Kolkhoz. Now it is one of the best farms and a real laboratory of advanced experience, which is, of course, thanks to the great service rendered by Yustyn Todorovich, who has given and continues to give his all to people and to his favorite cause. Yu. T. Lichuk has twice been awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor for his many years of selfless labor. He has represented the interests of the working people of the kray in the country's highest organ of state power--the USSR Supreme Soviet. Now having a well-earned rest, Yustyn Todorovich is still in the maelstrom of social affairs. His initiative and creative enthusiasm even now help the village workers in many ways.

Yu. T. Lichuk's recently published book "I Bear Witness" is the exciting and passionate story of his native land, his fate, the life of his countrymen and the great advantages of the Soviet way of life over the bourgeois way of life. But this book is also about the responsibility of every citizen to make our life better and more beautiful.

We can note with satisfaction that a considerable number of Carpathians have returned to their native land, having vegetated in the much-vaunted capitalist society of "universal prosperity." The fate of the Dzevin couple, who emigrated to Argentina in 1937, is very instructive. They managed to return

to their fatherland only in 1956. And how sharply their life changed. Here they "straightened up," as they say, and were given the opportunity to fully show and develop their abilities and to find happiness. The eldest Dzevin son Stepan Romanovich, graduated from the Lvov Academy of Music and works as director of the music school in the town of Rogatin. Work satisfaction and confidence in the future define the outlook of the large and friendly Dzevin family. Speaking recently on the oblast radio, Stepan Romanovich Dzevin said: "...I have lived for 27 years in my free native land. And what happiness this is! Here they admitted me to the Komsomol and here I became a communist. I am happy to be able to bring children into the beautiful world who are workers, employees and kolkhoz workers, and I am happy that my work is given public recognition. I am proud that I live among friendly, industrious, and sensitive people, the Soviet people!"

The working people of Carpathia are rightly proud of their Soviet homeland and have a sacred feeling of belonging to the friendly family of the Soviet people, in which they have found a happy lot. They do not conceive of their future in any other way. Consequently, the persistent efforts of anticommunists to paint a black picture of our reality are useless, and their attempts to entice the Soviet people with the "blessings" of the bourgeois system equally so. Those inhabitants of our oblast who have had occasion to stay with relatives in capitalist countries are ardent and staunch propagandists of our views and our way of life. And honest emigres who have visited their homeland carry with them the truth about present-day life in our kray and about Soviet reality.

The Canadian playwright George (Rayg), whose parents are natives of Sivka-Kalushskaya village, recently visited Carpathia. This is what he wrote afterwards in the newspaper ZHYTTYA I SLOVO, which is published in Canada: "...This is where my parents were born. Many years ago, seeking salvation from hunger and poverty, they left the hapless lands of the West Ukraine and went to work in Canada. They have not been back since then. Comparing the stories told by my parents and what I have seen myself, I feel that an era divides their memories and the reality of today. It is even difficult for them to imagine the scale of changes and transformations. The Ukraine, as seen by my eyes, is a land of developed industry with a rich and unique natural environment, where sincere, warm-hearted people live. They strive to live in peace and friendship with the other peoples of the world."

The comparisons drawn between Soviet and bourgeois reality by Pavlina Ivanovna Maksimonko, who returned to her native village of Tsenyava after a long stay in Canada, in a conversation with a journalist from the Rozhnyatov regional newspaper NOVI GORYZONTY are impressive. "This is the most precious thing in my life," she says in concluding her conversation about what she has seen. "In Canada I had only heard that there are happy people in the world. But, here I can see these happy people with my own eyes."

Yes, life itself, reality, testifies to the superiority of the socialist system and of our way of life.

And this is the objective basis of the complex process of forming the world outlook of the Soviet individual. However, it is inadmissible to simply rely

on reality's "automatic" influence on people's awareness. Direct, open discussions on a broad range of topical subjects, which do not smooth over sharp edges and which are backed up by informal organizational activities, definitely help to strengthen the authority of Soviet power in many ways and simultaneously help to implement concrete matters in the labor collectives.

A most responsible sphere of educational activities is that which is concerned with the younger generation. People usually become rapidly and easily accustomed to good things, but fortunately our young people have not tasted difficulties and adversities and so many regard the blessings of socialism as something that goes without saying; some are totally unaware that what has been achieved cost a vast amount of work and intensive struggle on the part of several generations of revolutionaries and builders of socialism. This is why there remain cases of noncritical perception of bourgeois propaganda's fabrications and why some young people have their heads turned by ostentatious advertisements of Western "standards."

Considering the acute nature of the ideological antagonism developing in the world between imperialism and socialism, the importance of ideological work, and especially of militant and effective counterpropaganda, is increasing. We have no grounds, as Comrade K. U. Chernenko noted at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, for occupying a defensive position. Revealing the truth of Marxist-Leninist ideas as clearly and convincingly as possible and exposing the groundlessness of imperialist propaganda so that every individual can independently interpret the maneuvers of the class enemy and events and facts both within the country and in the world, as well as actively champion our views and morals, is regarded by the oblast party organization as its most important task. The entire arsenal of means of ideological influence will be required to fulfill this task.

Propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and of the Soviet ways of life and opposition to the ideological diversions of the enemy are being increasingly skillfully conducted on the pages of the local periodical press. A considerable amount of clear and well-argued material is published in the oblast newspaper PRIKARPATSKA PRAVDA under the rubrics: "Two Worlds--Two Ways of Life," "Your World Outlook," "Meridians of Friendship," "We Have Our Pride," "On the Frontlines of the Ideological Struggle" and "Servants of Anticommunism."

Published documents by those who earlier took incorrect ideological positions and then renounced their erroneous views have great educational influence. At one time a sensation was raised in the foreign bourgeois-nationalist press over P. Antonovich--the first cousin of the former nationalist leader, S. Bandera, and also of the priest V. Romanyuk. Both were made out to be "defenders of human rights" victimized by the Soviet authorities because of their beliefs and consequently suffering incredible deprivations. Indeed, these people committed illegal acts at one time for which they were made answerable. However, having deeply pondered over life and realistically examined the facts of the Soviet reality, they later broke with the past. The open letters published in PRIKARPATSKA PRAVDA in which P. Antonovich exposed the dirty "technology" of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists' ideological diversions and urged waverers not to give in to provocation were an unpleasant

surprise for anti-Soviet elements. V. Romanyuk, in his turn, decisively said: "I wish to say to all who are 'suffering for my fate' that I forbid my name to be used by anyone, anywhere, and in any form, in anti-Soviet propaganda or to the detriment of the Soviet people and the Soviet state."

Local radio broadcasts devote a great deal of attention to the problems of class, patriotic and international education. Aspects of the Soviet way of life and its advantages over the bourgeois way of life are revealed and elucidated in the radio series "The Soviet Homeland--An Example to Mankind," the radio journal "Internationalist" and the series of radio lectures "Two Worlds--Two Ideologies." The permanent authors of these radio productions are young workers, kolkhoz workers, and students who have been on study trips, tourist trips or trips to visit relatives in capitalist countries where they could see firsthand all the "charms" of bourgeois reality.

In recent years books have been published in the oblast which illustrate by means of factual material socioeconomic and cultural transformations in Carpathia, the fruits of implementing a Leninist national policy, and the process of shaping the new man. The experience of work in class, patriotic and international education is also generalized, and the social nature and antinational essence of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists' ideology and actions are revealed.

The party obkom supported the arts council of the oblast theater, which decided to perform a play by the Lithuanian publicist and playwright A. Laurinchyukas entitled "Last Request." It exposes the bourgeois way of life and truthfully portrays the fate of people who fall into the trap of lies and willingly leave their homeland and thus forfeit a future. The performance has aroused a lively response from the audience and helps make one aware of the value of human dignity and happiness on one's native soil. Now a drama by O. Durkalo, entitled "The Hubbub of the Night," is ready to be performed. Its author is a fellow countryman and a participant in the struggle against the bands of Bandera. By means of concrete material taken from life, he shows the high price paid for the people's happiness by its best representatives--communists and Komsomol members from that troubled period.

The obkom ensures that the party committees, the primary party organizations and the ideological aktiv adopt a comprehensive approach to fulfilling the tasks of class education. The center of this work has been, and still is, the labor collective, where the workers' political, moral and work qualities are formed and manifested and where the influence of public opinion upon people's awareness and conduct is most tangible.

Specialization in a given problem by the groups of political information officers in many ways helps to increase the effectiveness of counterpropaganda. Evening sessions such as "Behind the Showcase of the 'Free World'" and "Two Worlds--Two Ways of Life" are popular among people of all ages. Showings of cinema films and photograph exhibitions, as well as meetings with people who have been in capitalist countries, are regularly organized in clubs and houses of culture. Sociopolitical clubs named after Yaroslav Ghalan function in all the cities and large villages, where the older

generation conveys its experience of life to young people and teaches them political vigilance.

Meetings of the working people and rural gatherings, at which the subversive actions of anticommunists and of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who have found a soft spot abroad are exposed, have become a tradition. The ideological services on the other side of the ocean do not balk at even the basest means. Thus some of our citizens have recently begun to receive "gifts of the Danaeans"--parcels containing clothes from real and imaginary relatives living on the other side of the ocean. But honest Soviet people reject these vile gifts with loathing and express their feelings openly to the world at rural gatherings and at meetings in the labor collectives. Foreign "benefactors" sometimes ask the recipients of these parcels to send them their old worn things, which they then exhibit, as a certain Kurdydyk living in the United States did.

A kolkhoz leader, M. M. Lenchovskaya, recently spoke at a citizens meeting held in the village of Rakovets in Gorodenskovskiy Rayon. She had visited the United States as a member of a republic delegation and had not just encountered friends of our country there. "Various renegades on the other side of the ocean tried to cloud our meetings with good, honest people, with those who are sympathetic toward the USSR," Melaniya Mikhailovna told her fellow villagers. "Some of those who fled the wrath of the people and are now engaged in anti-Soviet activities have even changed their surnames. Thus, a former fascist groveler, an elder from the neighboring village of Nezvisko, Marushchak, now lives in Philadelphia under the name of Stephan Nidyk. But we will never forget that the blood of our nearest and dearest stains his hands. In Gorodenskovskiy Rayon alone, for example, cutthroats from the organization of Ukrainian nationalists brutally murdered more than 1,000 Soviet people. Our delegation had to sustain more than one battle with nationalist failures who tried to blacken our reality in every possible way."

The life of Melaniya Mikhailovna, like that of many of her fellow villagers, clearly confirms that in socialist society the main criterion in the evaluation of an individual is not wealth or noble birth; rather, it is his personal working contribution to the general cause, and only socialism opens up opportunities for the worker to really participate in managing the affairs of society. The working prowess of M. M. Lenchovskaya, her active and interested participation in social work, and her ability to find the right approach to every matter at hand from party and state positions have not gone unnoticed by her work comrades and have been appraised for their true worth by the party and the government. She has been awarded the title of Hero of Socialist Labor.

In the village of Olesha in Tlumachskiy Rayon, the participants in a village meeting angrily spoke of a certain Pylypiv and Kukhniy--betrayers of the Ukrainian people, now living in the United States. During the fascist occupation Kukhniy was the village elder and Pylypiv, head of the militia. The blood of many Soviet citizens is on their consciences. Now the fascist hirelings send parcels and printed matter to certain unaware people or to people with a weakness for foreign clothes, at the expense of various nationalist and anti-Soviet organizations.

Two Bandera proteges, Butnitskiy and Romyga, who had long managed to escape the people's retribution for the serious crimes they had committed, were recently exposed and brought to trial. In Gorodenkovskiy Rayon where the bandits operated, meetings and youth evenings were held in many enterprises, in institutions and on farms on the subject of "The People Pass Sentence," accompanied by a film of the court trial of the former members of the organization of Ukrainian nationalists, a film made by the people's amateur film studio "Dnestr" of the local house of culture. The working people have branded not only these degenerates, but Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism as a whole.

"The party committees," it was emphasized in the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "must have a clear idea of what, and in which form and through which channels, the enemy tries to insinuate himself into our country, and they must promptly and conclusively repel these onslaughts. The actions of those who consciously or unconsciously slavishly imitate others must be given principled party appraisal..."

Communists and the ideological aktiv strive to help those who have turned out to be weak and have swallowed the bait of bourgeois propaganda. I will cite an example.

Workers at workshop No 8 of the chief enterprise of the Ivano-Frankovsk Geophysical Equipment Production Association checked their Comrade V. Slyusar on more than one occasion, as he indiscriminately interpreted the events of domestic and international life, repeating the false theses of radio broadcasts "from the other side" which, being insufficiently prepared, he accepted without criticism. It is well known how strong an influence the opinion of work comrades has. That is why a discussion entitled "A Reliable Barrier Against Ideological Diversions" was held at the initiative of the workshop's communists. All the workers participated. They unanimously condemned the maneuvers and intrigues of the class enemy and addressed their weighty words to those who, willingly or unwillingly, become, to quote Lenin, "stupid victims of deception and self-deception in politics" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch," vol 23, p 47) and an instrument in the hands of ideological subversionaries. This frank talk, which clearly manifested the force and distinct class direction of public opinion, also had an effect upon V. Slyusar. He realized his mistakes, changed his mind about a great many things, and now, as they say, does not confuse right with wrong.

The significance of well-thought-out political-educational work and the party organizations' ability to reach every individual are important now, perhaps, as never before. Today, virtually every individual is a participant in the ideological struggle in that he takes one ideological stand or another. For the offensive spirit of our ideology to steadily increase in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, the working people must be constantly armed with theoretical knowledge and factual material, as well as with the ability to apply it and conclusively wage polemics.

The oblast party organization expends a great deal of effort to arm all communists and Komsomol members, and also active nonparty members, with an

understanding of the laws of social development and an ability to correctly and from class positions appraise the processes and phenomena taking place inside the country and in the international arena. During the last academic year, approximately 250,000 people increased their political and economic knowledge. The quantity and, what is particularly important, the quality of theoretical seminars and other aspects of political education grew considerably. It is clear that broadening the circle of those studying topical problems does not guarantee the fulfillment of a set task in itself, because the main thing is the content and direction of these studies. It is not only important to present the students with the necessary material, but they must also be taught to skillfully utilize the knowledge they have received in life and in the struggle against bourgeois propaganda and ideological diversions. It is pleasing to note that many propagandists not only have a thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism themselves, but that they also have the ability to intelligibly and firmly expose the myths of imperialist propaganda and do everything to cultivate the qualities of active ideological fighters in their students.

At the same time, the training of the cadres for counter-propaganda work is being perfected. Specialized groups of lecturers work in the party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms. They are systematically informed on the most important questions relating to domestic and international life. An oblast permanent 2-year seminar has been formed, and corresponding work is also being conducted by the universities of Marxism-Leninism.

Cultivating patriotic pride in the socialist motherland, international solidarity with all detachments of fighters for the revolutionary reconstruction of the world, and irreconcilability toward class enemies is the more effective, the earlier this process is begun and the more consistently it is conducted.

The oblast party organization is concerned that patriotic and international education should penetrate all work with young people. The activities in this sphere by veterans of the party, the Great Patriotic War and creative labor are honorable and merit high appraisal.

Measures dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the Carpathian raid by the S. A. Kovpak partisan unit and implemented in the oblast had great educational significance. Last year the working people of the oblast marked the 60th anniversary of the formation of the first rural underground communist cell in the village of Kobaki in the Kosovskiy Rayon. The history of this cell is convincing evidence of the authority and influence that was enjoyed and still is enjoyed by communists among the working people of the oblast. The cell formed in 1923 grew into the major combat organization of the Communist Party of the West Ukraine, under whose leadership an underground Komsomol organization and mass legal associations operated.

The communists roused the working people of the village to antigovernment demonstrations and strikes, organized meetings, and distributed leaflets and communist publications. Kobaki was called the Red Village of Pokutye at that time. Under the communists' leadership the villagers struggled against the German fascist occupationists and their underlings from the organization of

Ukrainian nationalists and later actively participated in building a new life. Party veterans, former members of the Communist Party of the West Ukraine, P. N. Dupey, I. I. Savvuk, and N. T. Skavulyak, and veterans of kolkhoz production have convincingly related all this and how today's happy situation in the kray and in their native village was created. In their turn, the village's young workers and school pupils have spoken of how they multiply the traditions of the older generations of fellow countrymen and party members.

Perfecting class education is also helped by the strengthened ties between the Carpathians and the working people in the fraternal union republics. Many of them work with enthusiasm on most important all-union projects. Ivano-Frankovsk drilling technicians have been working by the shift methods for several years now in their development of oil reserves in Western Siberia in the Tyumen Oblast. Land improvement specialists from Ivano-Frankovsk participate in implementing the party's program to develop the Nechernozem Zone in the RSFSR.

With every passing year the friendship between the working people of Carpathia and Novgorod grows deeper. Socialist competition between our twin oblasts, all rayons, many labor collectives and production workers is already a good tradition. The working people of Carpathia and Novgorod take an interest in how things are going with their comrades in competition, meet regularly and exchange experience. Meetings between writers, journalists and workers in the arts have become the rule. In joint selfless labor and constant contact with other people, feelings of belonging to one family and of patriotic pride in our Soviet motherland become stronger, and the general contribution to the cause of strengthening its economy and defense might increase.

Most important oil and gas pipelines and electricity transmission lines cross the territory of our kray which connect the USSR with the countries of socialism. Products from tens of enterprises are delivered to the GDR Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland and other fraternal countries. Multifaceted ties have been established between the working people of Ivano-Frankovsk and Hungary and the GDR in the course of building the installations for the Soyuz and Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipelines, and with the working people from Maramures County in the Socialist Republic of Romania.

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As the integration processes of the concept of patriotism and internationalism are developed, their boundaries are considerably extended and filled with new content. The feeling of belonging to the great community of socialist countries and of solidarity with all detachments of fighters for the revolutionary reconstruction of social life and the strengthening of peace has established itself in the awareness of every individual and is growing stronger.

However, it would be wrong and not in the party spirit to be satisfied with what has been achieved. Even the best forms and methods acquired in the preceding period must not be allowed to ossify. Life moves forward. Fulfillment of the responsible tasks advanced by the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum requires steady perfection of ideological work and an enrichment of its content and forms. Searching, self-critical analysis of what has been done makes it possible to also discern weak points and

shortcomings. This primarily concerns the quality and efficiency of all ideological activities. Unfortunately, the practice has still not been eliminated whereby work is evaluated according to the quantity of measures implemented, which is easily recorded and compared but does not always reveal the essence of the matter or the effectiveness of ideological influence.

When organizing ideological-educational activities, some party committees and lower party units do not work from the concrete ideological and social-psychological situation in a given locality or labor collective, but from existing and sometimes far from perfect practice. Propagandists frequently repeat common knowledge, while operative information is slow in reaching the students. The method of political work carried out by communists and active party members in the form of trusting, comradely conversation in a natural situation is poorly utilized; in many cases, insufficient attention is devoted to individual work.

Specialists in the sphere of theory and methods of propaganda and social psychology are in debt to the ideological cadres. The question is one of developing the methods of studying public opinion and analyzing and appraising the effectiveness of ideological activities. The contribution to raising the level and improving the quality of ideological-educational work, including the counterpropaganda and professional core of the ideological cadres, can and must be considerably greater. It is precisely the ideological cadres who are primarily called upon to set an example of freshness of ideas and words and of work that is up to the level of the highest contemporary demands in all information-propaganda activities.

The class awareness and boundless loyalty of the working people to the party cause are clearly apparent in the enhanced initiative and creative activeness of the workers, kolkhoz workers, and intelligentsia of Soviet Carpathia and in their successful work to fulfill the plans of the 11th 5-Year Plan.

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CREATIVE FORCE OF THE LENINIST FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES

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[Article by K. Abdulov, head of the propaganda and agitation department, Leninabad Obkom, CP of Tajikistan, and S. Khamidov, head of a lecturing group at the obkom's propaganda and agitation department]

[Text] The Soviet people, who solemnly celebrated the 60th anniversary of the USSR in 1982, are brimming with the aspiration to continue to strengthen the fraternity and cooperation among our peoples. The party documents adopted on the occasion of this noteworthy anniversary enrich the theory and practice of scientific communism. They sum up the experience of the CPSU and the Soviet government in resolving the national problem, this most complex problem of social development during the crucial epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, illuminating the path of the further upsurge of the economy, the blossoming of the culture and strengthening the defense capability of our fatherland, and the struggle for peace and international security.

The Leninabad Obkom and the party committees of the oblast pay great attention to the study of the theory and practical experience in resolving the national problem in our country and relations among nations under developed socialist conditions. The convincing and specific display of the outstanding accomplishments achieved through the implementation of Lenin's ideas and policies and the serious study made from the positions of scientific communism of the new problems raised by life are of both domestic and international political significance. For the first time in history the multinational composition of the population has turned from a source of weakness in the country into a source of inner stability, power and comprehensive progress, something which we feel every day in the USSR.

The best minds of all times and nations have dreamed of putting an end to national discord and endless conflicts and wars and achieving national and racial equality. They dreamed of times when, in the words of A. S. Pushkin, "Peoples, having forgotten their quarrels, will unite in a great family." At the turn of the 20th century the struggle of the progressive philosophers and best representatives of mankind, waged for freedom and friendship among the peoples, was illuminated by the light of Lenin's ideas which had reached even the most distant corners of Russia long before the October Revolution. "Take what is left of my shroud and dye it red and make it a flag," said Anbarotun,

the Uzbek poetess and philosopher. Her teacher, the Tajik poetess and educator Dil'shod wrote: "Oppressors and oppressed will never come together." A copy of Lenin's ISKRA, the first "Red" newspaper in Russia, was found during the demolition of an old house in Ura-Tyube where she was born and grew up. A copy of ISKRA was concealed between the pages of the Koran in Kulyab.

The Great October Socialist Revolution eliminated the system of exploitation and social and national oppression and led to independent historical creativity in all nations of our country. V. I. Lenin wrote: "We...will combine and blend the peoples not by the power of the ruble or the stick, not with violence, but through voluntary accord and cohesion of the working people against the exploiters" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, pp 7374).

It was on this basis that the USSR was created, strengthened and developed under the leadership of the Leninist party. From thoughts to theories, from theories to practice and from practice to norms of life--this was the path covered in the struggle for the reorganization of national relations in our country on just, humane and progressive principles.

The experience of the USSR clearly proves how the course of history is accelerated and the unparalleled opportunities which opened for the economic, social and cultural progress of each republic and the entire country under the conditions of a socialist multinational state, thanks to fraternal cooperation, reciprocal support and aid given by free nations. Within a short historical time previously national outlying areas in the USSR have become highly developed socialist republics. Let us take as an example our Tajikistan, for which this year is special, marking the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the republic and the CP of Tajikistan. This anniversary is a confirmation of the historical achievements of socialism and the live embodiment of Lenin's ideas and principles of national policy.

Lenin's historical letter "To the Comrade Communists of Turkestan" (November 1919) expresses with utmost clarity the essence of the national policy of the communist party and the significance of its systematic implementation in terms of the destinies of mankind. "The establishment of proper relations with the peoples of Turkestan," Lenin pointed out, "is now of an importance to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic which could be described as tremendous, as universal-historical, with no exaggeration" (op. cit., vol 39, p 304).

In following Il'ich's behests, the party did everything necessary to ensure the progress of previously backward peoples at a faster pace. It dedicated "all efforts so that through example and action comradely relations would be established with the peoples of Turkestan...." (ibid.). Trains with equipment for plants and factories, printing presses and scientific laboratories rolled toward Central Asia. As directed by Lenin and the command of their hearts workers and specialists, teachers, physicians and scientists came here. They brought with them to our land the spirit of change and the ideas and practices of the socialist reorganization of an agrarian area. We were given comprehensive aid. Thus, in 1924-1925 only about 7.7 percent of the Tajik budget came from its own revenue. Subsidies to Tajikistan from the union

budget accounted, respectively, for 73, 78.5 and 87.8 percent of all funds between 1928 and 1930.

As Comrade K. U. Chernenko writes, the material, political and organizational aid provided by the working class and all working people in the developed areas of the USSR was a decisive prerequisite for the accelerated economic development of the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and the Transcaucasus. This selfless aid assumed the shape of all-union economic policy in accordance with the consistent and comprehensive course formulated by the party. The Russian working class and Russian people made sacrifices for the sake of surmounting the backwardness of the national outlying areas, considering this their lofty international duty. Whereas in 1950 the gross industrial output of the RSFSR had increased by a factor of 6 compared to 1928, that of Kazakhstan and Georgia had increased by a factor of 8, that of Tajikistan and Armenia by a factor of 9 and of Kirghizia by a factor of 10.

We are proud of the fact that Tajikistan shines brightly in the galaxy of fraternal Soviet republics. Its achievements in all realms of the economy, social life and culture are truly tremendous and impressive. Under the Soviet system the Tajik people's accomplishments have been superior to everything accomplished in previous centuries.

The Tajik people address words of warm gratitude to the fraternal Russian people, whose selfless aid was an invaluable contribution to the great heights in socioeconomic, scientific and cultural development reached by the republic. Today the republic has about 400 industrial enterprises and associations equipped with modern facilities, more than 100 of them in Leninabad Oblast.

The scientific and technical revolution is having a positive influence on ensuring the comprehensive progress of the country at large and of each individual Soviet nation and ethnic group. The role of industrial labor is increasing. To a certain extent this is reflected also on the growth of the working class. Our republic is an example of this, for a working class began rapidly to take shape here from the very first years of building socialism. Between 1940 and 1983 the average annual number of workers in Tajikistan increased from 85,000 to 729,000. The share of the women's labor participation has increased. Thus, whereas in 1940 women accounted for 29 percent of the republic's workers and employees, they accounted for 38 percent in 1983.

The class structure of the population in the Soviet republics is becoming equalized and the role of the working class is growing in the development of all nations and nationalities in the USSR. The party pays great attention to increasing the share of members of the native nationalities within the working class in the republics. As a result, the working class in all republics accounts today for the majority of the population.

At the same time, as is the case in some other areas, the problem of strengthening the working class with members of the native population remains topical in Tajikistan. More than half of the overall number of workers are Tajiks; nearly 20 percent are Uzbeks; one out of six is Russian and representatives of other fraternal nations may be found as well.

The role of the vocational-technical education system has increased substantially in training national worker cadres. During the first 3 years of the 11th Five-Year Plan alone the vocational technical schools trained some 60,000 workers in different skills. The practice of training skilled worker cadres in the vocational technical schools of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine has confirmed its usefulness. Tajiks, 96 percent of whom are young men and women of native nationalities, are successfully acquiring worker skills in Volgograd, Gorkiy, Tula, Ryazan, Voroshilovgrad and Novosibirsk oblasts. This helps the efficient utilization of the republic's manpower in developing the all-union economy and is a good school for the international upbringing of young people. We must continue persistently to resolve the problems set at the 26th CPSU Congress of expanding the training of skilled workers among the local population.

The truth that the blossoming of Tajikistan would have been impossible outside the great commonwealth of Soviet nations and nationalities has been accepted by the minds and hearts of all Tajiks. Foreign delegations who visit the Soviet republics note with admiration the transforming role played by Leninist national policy. They see in the USSR the prototype of the future commonwealth and cooperation among nations.

It is said that everything becomes clear through comparison. Let us cite a few data: today in the 35 developing countries in Asia, with a population in excess of 1.4 billion, per capita electric power production is 251 kilowatt hours, compared to 2,797 kilowatt hours in the Tajik SSR. All national economic sectors in the republic are developing successfully and its industrial output goes to more than 50 different countries in the world.

Striking changes have taken place in Tajik agriculture as well. During the 1970s the developing countries in Asia and Africa, with a population in excess of 1.6 billion, used 528,000 tractors in the cultivation of their fields. In the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, whose population totaled 33 million at the beginning of the 1970s, there were 391,000 tractors at work. Today our oblast alone has more than 10,000 tractors, 1,600 cotton-picking machines and a large number of other agricultural machinery.

Based on the steadily strengthening material and technical foundations, Tajik agriculture is developing dynamically. It has reached new heights during the 11th Five-Year Plan. Over the 5-year period the overall volume of capital investments in our agriculture will total nearly 1.8 billion rubles. The contribution of the Tajik SSR to the implementation of the Food Program and the resolutions of the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum is increasing significantly. During the first 3 years of the five-year plan alone our oblast has added 16,500 hectares of newly irrigated land to its agriculture. It sold the state 718,000 tons of cotton, 80,500 tons of meat, 240,000 tons of milk, 341 million eggs, 56,000 karakul lambskins, 334,000 tons of vegetables, 174,000 tons of fruits, 235,000 tons of grapes and many other crop products. Whereas in 1981 the gross kolkhoz, sovkhos and agricultural enterprise output in the oblast totaled 327 million rubles, by 1983 it had reached 342 million.

Under developed socialist conditions the economy of all union republics is a single national economic complex. As was noted in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," this complex is the material foundation for the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR. The interconnection among production sectors of republics, regions and oblasts is increasing. The volume of output is rising steadily both within the territorial-production complexes and associations as well as on a union-wide scale, among republics and different parts of the country. Thus, Tajikistan receives large quantities of goods from a number of republics, krays and oblasts. Its main supplier is the RSFSR, which accounts for more than 60 percent of deliveries to our republic. We receive timber from Krasnoyarsk and Khabarovsk krays, metal from the Urals and automotive vehicles, combines, tractors, milling machines and petroleum products from the European part of the country. Equipment for the Tadzhikskoye Mining Administration in Isfara alone comes from 30 different cities in the Soviet Union.

The expansion of economic relations among USSR republics, rayons and cities helps the growth of public production and the people's well-being and the increased contribution which the republics and economic rayons make to the all-union division of labor. Daily facts convince us that in our country each republic works for the entire country while the country works for each individual republic. Thus, at the beginning of the 1970s Tajikistan was exporting to other parts of the USSR nearly 90 percent of its cotton, more than 60 percent of the silk fabrics, more than 90 percent of the carpets and rug products, 90 percent of the canned fruit and 65-70 percent of the grapes and fruits it produces. It also exports the Pamir household refrigerators, concentrated nonferrous metal ores and other goods.

The implementation of the plans for economic and social development of the USSR is considered by the working people in the republic not only their obligation but their patriotic and international duty. Everyone must profoundly realize that the creation of territorial-production complexes based on state plans, the development of mineral deposits and the building of new industrial and agricultural projects are consistent with interests not only of the republic on the territory on which this takes place but the entire Soviet Union--our common homeland.

In his meeting with the voters, Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized the particular importance of increasing the possibilities of each republic to make an efficient contribution to the development of the economy of the Soviet Union as a single national economic complex. He pointed out that national interests must be put above anything else. This is the direct consequence of the internationalist nature of our society and our outlook.

In implementing the policy of capital investments and in locating production forces as well priority should be given to all-union, nationwide interests. At the present stage this is based not on the requirement of surmounting the economic backwardness of one republic or another, for, as we know, we have successfully resolved this problem, but on the implementation of the tasks of implementing the further economic progress of the country as a whole. Under developed socialist conditions the unification of Soviet nations and

nationalities on the basis of the internationalization of production forces and the further strengthening of the economic relations of union republics assume a growing scale as well as new features. Lenin's brilliant prediction to the effect that "only with socialism will fast, real and true mass progress in all fields of social and personal life take place, with the participation of the majority and, subsequently, the entire population, has become reality" (op. cit., vol 33, pp 99-100).

Major changes have taken place in the social structure of the union republics as a result of the socialist changes. Culture has blossomed. Socialist nations have developed, forming a new historical community--the Soviet people. This is our greatest accomplishment which means that the national problem, as it was left to us by the exploiting system, has been definitively and irreversibly resolved in the USSR.

The new historical community--the Soviet people--is based on profound objective material and spiritual changes. It is the result of the growing internationalization of economic and all social life. "This community," Comrade K. U. Chernenko writes, "marks a higher stage reached in the sociopolitical unification of all nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union. It is expressed through concepts such as "Soviet person," "Soviet economy," "Soviet character," "Soviet patriotism" and "Soviet way of life," which appeared during the building of socialism. Soviet means "common, something inherent in each nation and nationality in our country."

The meaning of such concepts becomes even clearer when we look at the Western bourgeoisie. In the decades which have passed since the Great October Revolution, national contradictions in the capitalist world have become even more aggravated, as confirmed by apartheid and the bloody racial clashes in some U.S. cities and in the southern part of Africa, Israel's aggressive anti-Arab policy, and the fierce national struggle waged in England, Canada, Belgium, The Netherlands, Spain and other bourgeois countries. The escalation of racial and national hatred triggered by capitalism, and their growth into bloody conflicts are among the most sinister pages of 20th-century history. In the capitalist world problems of international relations remain the most relevant to this day.

In this area as well a clear demarcation line divides the two worlds and systems. In the USSR no person feels himself a social outcast merely because he is a member of one ethnic group or another or has one type of skin or another. Any insult of national dignity in our country is not simply immoral but illegal. Any concession to nationalism and any connivance with nationalist boastfulness radically clashes with Lenin's behests and CPSU traditions.

Yes, socialism is the only humane system on earth. Following is yet another example of the qualitative distinction between our and the bourgeois ways of life. More than 100 different nations and ethnic groups live in the USSR, ranging from 137.4 million (Russians) to 504 (the Negidaltsy, an ethnic group living in the Far East). However, all such ethnic groups enjoy equal rights.

Naturally, the radical solution of the national problem in our country, inherited from the past, does not mean that all problems in relations among nations have disappeared. As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the dynamics of the development of such a large multinational state as ours creates many problems the solution of which must be approached attentively and thoughtfully, with suitable tactfulness. It is precisely this that the CPSU Central Committee encourages our cadres and party organizations to do. The party calls for a profound study of the problems of relations among nations and their scientific Marxist-Leninist development and the creative enrichment of the Leninist national policy based on the study of practical experience and on summing up the experience of developed socialism.

The constant attention which the CPSU pays to problems of improving relations among nations is determined by the existence of nations and national differences. Such distinctions will remain for a long time, far longer than class differences. That is why the CPSU assigns in its strategy a major role to the steady exercise of a scientific national policy based on the positive changes occurring in life and, naturally, still existing phenomena and shortcomings alien to socialism.

Today we do not simply live in a multinational country. The union and autonomous republics, krais and oblasts and our labor collectives themselves are multinational. Thus, members of more than 80 ethnic groups live and work in Tajikistan and about 60 of them in our Leninabad Oblast.

The number of members of non-native nationalities, who have their own specific requirements concerning language, culture and way of life, has increased in a number of republics over the past few years. In accordance with the instructions of the 26th CPSU Congress, in the course of their work the party committees in our oblast study such problems and take into consideration in their daily affairs national characteristics, whether it is a question of children's education, radio broadcasts or mass-political and cultural measures.

We are extensively promoting the Leninist national policy. The oblast has about 900 political reporters and voluntary party committee lecturers, one out of five of whom deals with the various aspects of the Leninist national policy. The Knowledge Society organizations alone deliver an average of 64,000 lectures on 30 topics every year. The topics covered at oblast and zonal seminars and scientific-theoretical and practical science conferences include various problems of interethnic relations.

In the entire variety of ways and means of ideological and mass-political work we take into consideration the fine points of national policy indicated by Lenin and respect for the national feelings and national dignity of every person. However, we also emphasize in our work that overestimating and idealizing national characteristics and their artificial exaggeration are inadmissible.

The entire Soviet way of life and Tajikistan's specific example raise the working people in our oblast in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and the proud feeling of belonging to the single great Soviet

homeland. The intensive economic and social development of Tajikistan, as that of the other union republics and oblasts, contributes to the acceleration of the comprehensive rapprochement among them. As was pointed out in the CPSU documents, however, one should not anticipate or delay extant progressive processes.

Without weakening its attention to the national aspects of the people's life and taking them into consideration, the party actively supports trends in our social development which express the law of true socialism in relations among nationalities--the further blossoming and rapprochement among nations, strengthening the cohesion and unity within the entire Soviet people and intensifying the internationalist principles in Soviet society.

Let us emphasize the universal truth that under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, from the very beginning Soviet statehood was structured not only as national but as international, as common and close to all working people of different nationalities living in one republic or another. With a feeling of pride in the successes of the revolution and our party in the implementation of its international duty by the Russian working class and the entire Russian people, Lenin emphasized that "we have given all non-Russian nationalities their own republics or autonomous oblasts" (op. cit., vol 44, p 146).

Reality confirmed the theoretical forecasts of Marxism on the rapprochement among nations after the victory of the proletarian revolution. As Lenin said, one of the objectives of socialism is the elimination of the splintering of mankind and the separation of nations. Socialism is strengthening and advancing under the internationalist banner of the unity and fraternity among nations.

While creating conditions for the development of national statehood, socialism does not limit itself to proclaiming the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination but meets their basic needs and ensures their steadfast social progress.

The rapprochement and cooperation among nations under socialism is a manifestation of a progressive trend toward the internationalization of production and all social life in the country. The extent of the cohesive and uninterrupted functioning of the single national economic complex and the efficiency with which the production potential of the Soviet state is utilized determine the strengthening of its power and defense capability and the further growth of the people's well-being.

The solution of major problems such as developing the fuel-energy and raw material resources of Siberia, the Far East and the North, and the BAM zone, the implementation of the Food and Energy programs, and increasing the production of consumer goods and improving their quality demand the even closer joint efforts of the working people of all republics, the unification of their resources and the more efficient utilization of their production potential. It is important to increase the responsibility of cadres and personnel of all bodies and organizations in observing the state and all national interests and firmly to eliminate departmentalism and parochialism.

Every Soviet person, whether Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Tajik, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Tatar, Ingush, Yakut or Evenk, is increasingly becomingly aware not only of representing his nation or ethnic group but of being a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It is precisely that which unites all Soviet peoples within a single fraternal family that is becoming more significant.

The Russian language is the most important means of rallying and bringing closer to each other the peoples inhabiting our huge homeland. This is a factor of exceptional importance in joint production and any socially useful activities, in the political and cultural life of the country, in the rapprochement among all Soviet nations and ethnic groups and their exposure to the wealth of global civilization. That is why the Russian language has entered the lives of tens of millions of workers, kolkhoz members, engineering-technical and scientific personnel, men of literature and the arts and members of the armed services.

In our multinational country the increased role of the Russian language as a language of international communication, contacts and cooperation is an objective law based on a number of factors. Above all, the Russian language is the native language of the majority of the population in the USSR. Nor should we fail to note the fact that the Russian language had become quite widespread among non-Russian peoples even before the October Revolution. In the course of the joint struggle and the building of socialism and its development, the number of people of other nationalities who speak the Russian language fluently increased and is continuing to grow. According to the 1979 census, 61.3 million people described the Russian language as their second most fluent tongue.

The development of our country on the way to socialism brought about the extensive voluntary mastery of the Russian language by non-Russian peoples. The number of people who speak Russian fluently is increasing with every passing year in our Leninabad Oblast as well. Thus, according to the 1979 population census data, 313,000 out of a population of nearly 1.2 million in the oblast said that they spoke Russian fluently as a second language; 192,000 of them were Tajiks or 29.4 percent of their overall number; 76,000 or 21.5 percent were Uzbeks. The share of the people of non-Russian nationalities who consider Russian their native tongue is increasing. According to the population censuses, there were 10.2 million such individuals in the country in 1959, 13 million in 1970 and 16.3 million in 1979. According to the 1979 census, in Leninabad Oblast 127,000 people, 106,000 of them Russian and 21,000 members of other ethnic groups, called Russian their native tongue.

Naturally, the acceptance of the Russian language as the language of international relations neither leads nor should lead to belittling the role of ethnic languages. We are ensuring the free development of the languages of all nations and ethnic groups inhabiting the Soviet Union. In no case does the spreading of the Russian language mean the abolishment of national languages. Bilingualism is a characteristic feature of our socialist reality. Under such circumstances the national languages perform exceptionally important functions in all realms of social life--production, cultural and

domestic. The CPSU and the Soviet government are concerned with improving national literacy, developing publishing and expanding school education. In the USSR radio broadcasts take place in 71 languages; textbooks are printed in 55 languages and journals and other periodicals are published in 45. All the necessary conditions have been created in our country for anyone to use the language that suits him, i.e., to speak in the language he desires. It is indicative that in Leninabad Oblast alone children attend school in five languages: Tajik, Uzbek, Russian, Kirghiz and Kazakh.

Mirzo Tursun-Zade, the Tajik national poet, described the historical role and significance of the Russian language quite vividly: "It is you, oh our Russian language, who enhanced us to the point that the world now knows that the Tajiks are happy, that our Dzhambul, the Kazakh, is a great poet, that bountiful Uzbekistan is like a flower garden!" These thoughts can be echoed by the working people of Tajikistan or any other union republic.

To the Tajiks and to all nations and ethnic groups in our homeland the Russian language is above all the language of the first socialist revolution in the world, the language of Lenin, the language of friendship and cooperation and the password to the hearts of all nations.

The familiar system of studying the Russian language has developed in our republic and oblast. Taking the requirements and needs of the parents into consideration, children are taught the Russian language starting in kindergarten and nursery school. Russian is studied starting with the preparatory classes in all schools. In our oblast alone more than 750 such classrooms have been set up, with a total of 19,000 children 6 years of age. The number of schools with intensified study of Russian language and literature is increasing. Greater attention is being paid to the training of Russian language teachers and their quality has improved. A pedagogical Russian language and literature institute was opened in 1980 in Tajikistan, for language teachers. A system for upgrading the skills of teachers and educators in preschool institutions has been organized.

The practical science conference on "Let Us Study the Language of Lenin, the Language of the October Revolution," which took place in February 1982, was a celebration of the Russian language. Conferences on the same topic were held in all cities and rayons in our oblast. The main speakers were the first secretaries of party committees.

This work is based on the fact that under the conditions of the development of relations among nations and economic and cultural ties and the progress of science and technology and the growth of mass information, no success is possible without knowledge of the Russian language--the language of international communication and an active means of internationalist upbringing. However, the present pace of its study and dissemination is still not entirely consistent with contemporary requirements and the socioeconomic progress of Soviet society. As was noted at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in a number of cases poor knowledge of the Russian language limits the access of people to the wealth of international culture and narrows the range of activities and contacts. That is why the Basic Directions in the Reform of the General Education and Professional Schools emphasize entirely

accurately the need to take additional steps to improve conditions for the study of the Russian language along with one's native tongue, voluntarily adopted by the Soviet people as a means of international contacts. The free mastery of the Russian language must become the norm of secondary school graduates.

The growth of spiritual values and the exchange of such values are assuming increasing significance in national relations in the period of developed socialism. Making such exchanges even more fruitful and increasing access to everything best provided by the socialist way of life is a noble project in which party organizations and men of science and culture must actively participate.

Naturally, we must not ignore the fact that the spiritual heritage, traditions and way of life of each nation include not only things that are valuable but also bad and obsolete features. At its January 1983 session, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium indicated once again the need to make more extensive use of the best features of spiritual legacy and popular traditions.

We have inherited from the older generations a variety of customs and ceremonies which contain the features of national culture and way of life. The Tajiks, for example, have many good customs which have developed among the toiling people. Because of their progressive nature many of them are considered a valuable spiritual legacy. Naturally, the spiritual experience of the past and the adoption of its values, i.e., what we must reject from past developments and how to reject them, and what to accept and how to accept it is no simple theoretical or practical matter.

Let us take "~~hashar~~"--the custom of mutual aid--as an example. For example, if you are planning to build a new house and do not have enough funds, there is no problem. All one has to do is announce his intention and the entire village will come to help. This outstanding ancient Tajik custom has become an intrinsic part of our Soviet way of life. Another good custom is expressed in the saying that "the guest comes before the father." Hospitality is a national Tajik feature. If you happen to find yourself in an unfamiliar village in the middle of the night, you can boldly knock at any door. Whatever the time of day you will be welcomed, fed and allowed to rest.

Bread is a symbol of wealth in many nations. This is also shared by the Tajiks. If they wish someone well, they say "Let there always be bread in your home." It would be no exaggeration to say that the Tajiks do not simply respect but venerate bread. The folk saying is that "bread is bread and bread crumbs are also bread." Even the stalest bit of crust will not be thrown out in a Tajik family. Need we mention how important it is to support this good custom?

Valuable Tajik, Uzbek and other traditions such as industriousness, respect for the elders, goodness and humanism have become a firm part of the norms of Soviet community life and socialist morality. These and other customs make people purer and morally wealthier. They have become even more meaningful under socialist conditions.

The coordination council on ideological work of the Leninabad party obkom and the local party committees are making the necessary efforts to study and disseminate progressive traditions and the experience in the struggle against negative phenomena and obsolete mores and customs. In 1982 the oblast party committee held a zonal seminar for secretaries of party committees and organizations of Nauskiy Rayon on "New Soviet Traditions and Ceremonies."

While giving the legacy of the past and the ancient traditions of the nation their due, we must persistently oppose efforts to idealize obsolete mores and customs. For example, to this day the "khayr" and "irtish" ceremonies are still observed in some villages in our republic, in the course of which at a funeral the relatives of the deceased distribute money and bits of fabric among the guests. Here and there other manifestations of religious fanaticism may be noted, the durability of which is explained by the complex chain of human relations and characteristics of national history.

We are encountering some difficulties in the elimination of such phenomena. The point is that frequently they are given different interpretations and, consequently, could play both a positive and a negative role, i.e., they may be good or bad. Let us take as an example the custom of respect for the old. This is a good custom, a norm of behavior and a duty. It occasionally happens, however, that such respect turns into blind obedience and silent submissiveness. This may explain the durability of religious prejudices, pilgrimages to "holy places," and the requirement of purchasing a bride. The family of the groom may be asked to provide money, carpets, sheep, fabrics, products, and so on. Some families spend years saving every kopek to pay for the bride.

Echoes of vanishing times are still heard in some still-existing phenomena such as parochialism, dependency, boastfulness, arrogance and disrespectful attitude toward other nations and ethnic groups. Such negative phenomena are infrequent in our Leninabad Oblast and have been showing a declining tendency of late. However, the party committees and organizations proceed from the fact that the matter rests not in the number of one case or another but the moral, the social harm which they cause society. That is why the party obkom, gorkoms and raykoms take them carefully into consideration and formulate principle-minded requirements above all toward party members in managerial positions.

Delegates to the 17th Oblast Party Conference noted that during the period under accountability 202 members of the party committee nomenclature were released from their positions for reasons of some shortcomings or errors. Problems of moral purity and observing the norms of the socialist way of life are assuming increasing importance in ideological and political education work.

Lenin, V. I., at Conference of Political Educators

At the Second All-Russian Conference of Political Educators Lenin spoke of the three main enemies which then facing the party members. The first was communist boastfulness; the second was illiteracy; and the third, bribery (see op. cit., vol 44, p 173). Since then the situation has changed radically. However, so far we have been able to eliminate only illiteracy in its

entirety. That is why we must persistently get rid of anything which is obsolete and hinders the spiritual growth of the people and conflicts with the demands of socialist morality and the ideals of socialism. We must struggle skillfully and firmly with obsolescence and find efficient means of surmounting it. We must study and disseminate the newly developing socialist ceremonies and holidays and carefully plan practical measures for their application.

Naturally, success largely depends on knowledge of local conditions and the history of the appearance and development of the old customs, forms of manifestation and reasons for survival. As Rasul Gamzatov pointed out, it is erroneous to explain "vestiges of the past in terms of our current shortcomings. Many of them did not exist in the past, for which reason we should not shoot at them with our pistols so that in the future they will not shoot back at us with guns."

The party has frequently pointed out that no petty matters exist in national policy and that here everything matters--the attitude toward language, monuments of the past and the interpretation of historical events as well as means of improving living, working and resting conditions. This makes understandable the great responsibility of party and soviet organs in our cadres for the systematic implementation of the Leninist national policy with its lofty principles which ensure harmonious and fraternal relations among all citizens regardless of national origin.

This leads us to the question of the representation of the working people of all nations in the republic's party and state organs. Our oblast party organization is strictly observing the respective stipulation of the 26th CPSU Congress in all realms of party and economic life: among the oblast leading personnel 56.3 percent are Tajiks, 24.2 percent are Uzbeks, 13.7 percent are Russians and 5.8 percent are members of other nationalities.

Characteristically, at the Leninabad Silk Combine members of more than 40 nations and ethnic groups work side by side. Of the 37 shop chiefs 14 are Tajik, 12 are Russian, two are Ukrainian, 3 are German and the rest consist of Tatars, Uzbeks, Mordvins and Jews. National representation among foremen and assistant foremen is even more varied. In addition to such nationalities they include Lithuanians, Ossets and Azerbaijanis.

The nomenclature personnel of the party committees in our oblast include members of 27 nationalities; more than 20 nationalities are represented among secretaries of primary party organizations. Understandably, a simple mathematical approach to the solution of cadre problems is unsuitable. We must also take into consideration the practical, moral and political qualities of the people and show proper attention, concern and tactfulness in cadre selection and placement.

The party points out the lasting significance of raising the people in a spirit of great love for their great Soviet homeland and international solidarity with the working people of other countries. This is the task of party and Komsomol organizations, the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, our armed forces and our schools. The Soviet people see it as their

duty to continue to strengthen the inviolable unity among the peoples of the USSR and sacredly to preserve and multiply the material and spiritual wealth of the fatherland. Such thoughts and aspirations were manifested once again in the unanimity with which the Soviet people welcomed the resolutions of the February and April 1984 CPSU Central Committee plenums which reasserted the continuity of the Leninist course.

Let us emphasize in conclusion that Tajik literature, which has a millenium of rich folklore traditions, has always praised the concept of human solidarity and friendship. "Unity gives life." Such is the belief of the Tajik people who are advancing toward communism alongside all fraternal peoples of the land of the soviets. The working people in our oblast, infinitely loyal to the CPSU and to Lenin's behest, will continue to strengthen friendship among the peoples and carry high the banner of proletarian internationalism and fight for peace and for the successful implementation of the great plans of the Leninist party.

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LENIN'S THEORY OF REFLECTION AND THE ART OF SOCIALIST REALISM

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[Article by Dr of Philosophical Sciences A. Oganov]

[Text] The historical development of socialist realism and all progressive art and the amazing variety of artistic forms and type and genre of reciprocal influences, the appearance of new types of artistic creativity and the extensive penetration into artistic practice of the achievements of scientific and technical progress are all essential features of our time, which have a tremendous impact on the various realms of social reality. Naturally, their interpretation challenges Marxist-Leninist aesthetics with a number of new major tasks, which include steady improvements in methodology and further intensification of our knowledge of the basic laws of the artistic process.

The practical activities of the communist party and the materials of its 26th Congress and CPSU Central Committee decrees on problems of artistic culture ("On Literary-Artistic Criticism," "On Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Cinematography," "On People's Art Industries," "On Work With the Creative Youth," "On Measures for the Further Development of Amateur Artistic Creativity," "On Creative Ties Between Literary-Artistic Journals and the Practice of Building Communism" and "On the Work of the Party Organization of the Belorussian State Academic Theater imeni Yanko Kupala") ascribe a tremendous role to socialist realism in shaping the comprehensively developed and harmonious individual. That is precisely why the party documents formulate as a decisive prerequisite for the implementation by the arts of this basic social purpose of the Leninist requirements of communist idea-mindedness and high artistic standards. The CPSU Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th Congress states: "The party neither was nor could remain indifferent to the ideological direction followed by our art." It also emphasizes that "naturally, it is important in this case to see to it that the relevance of topics is not concealed behind dull and artistically limited matters." Socialist realism as a method for the accurate reflection and development of contemporary society is simply inconceivable without the organic unity between idea- and artistic-mindedness of socialist realism.

Art deprived of progressive social ideas is basically antihumanistic. Furthermore, the ideological efficiency and democratic nature of artistic creativity are directly dependent on the high qualities of artistry and the

extent of the perfection of specific character forms used in depicting reality. This aspect of the matter can in no way be underestimated.

It is also of essential importance that time itself, as it changes the face of traditional art and as it substantially influences the steady search for new forms of artistic expression, creates today a particular need for the further elaboration of clear and strict theoretical and aesthetic criteria of realism, capable of ensuring their fruitful development of artistic practice in accordance with the ideological-political and moral and aesthetic orientations of the mature socialist society. That is why one of the important stipulations of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which states "the principal method of influencing artistic creativity should be Marxist-Leninist criticism--active, sensitive and responsive to creative search--is of particular importance. Furthermore, its duty is to provide a clear party assessment of works which express views alien to our society and ideology and allow violations of historical truth."

In order for the critics to be able successfully to fulfill such a responsible role, it is of exceptional importance today to enrich our basic knowledge of the foundations of artistic activities with a view to the profound and comprehensive understanding of the steadily progressing artistic culture of developed socialist society. Its interpretation as a living phenomenon, the study and development of its conceptual aspects and the anticipation of its further progress are the prime tasks of Marxist-Leninist aesthetics as the philosophical-methodological foundations of art theory and practice.

Quite symptomatically, during the past decade interest in methodological problems of the study of art has increased substantially. The use of the special methods applied in scientific disciplines not directly related to aesthetics and the study of art, such as psychology, sociology, semiotics, mathematics, the theory of information and so on, has become more active. This provides certain positive results, for by arming the science of aesthetics with new auxiliary methods, it contributes as a whole to the all-round comprehensive approach to the study of the various manifestations of artistic practice.

For example, the psychological aspect of analysis enables us to identify the profoundly individual features of artistic creativity and the perception of art and to explain the reasons which motivate artistic actions and steps taken by the characters and the nature of aesthetic feelings and emotions; the sociological aspect is particularly important in determining the laws of social functioning of one work or another and its historical fate and in studying the characteristics of the perception of works of art by various social groups; the semiotic approach is fruitful in the study of the symbolic components of the artistic character, allegories and the communicative functions of art.

The use of the mathematical method is determined by the specific quantitative characteristics of a work of art, the knowledge of which improves our ideas of spatial attitude toward paintings, sculpture, and architecture and contributes to the interpretation of the interval-sound and metrorhythmical organization

in music and poetry. The sociology of art, an important field of research, cannot be pursued without mathematical statistics.

The mathematical apparatus is the foundation of the theoretical-informative and cybernetic analytical methods. Since a work of art, whatever its type and genre, provides a certain degree of information and is a means of communication and transmission of content through the specific language of art, efforts are being made to consider such characteristics from the aspect of the theory of information. In this case communicative processes, characteristic of art, become a direct subject of study.

The cybernetic approach to art consists, in particular, of modeling individual elements and some characteristics of artistic works with the help of computers, with a view to testing and refining the objective nature of our knowledge regarding the creative process.

Despite the fact that such methods based on mathematical principles have not as yet provided the science of aesthetics with adequately substantive and practically valuable results, it would be erroneous or, in any case, premature to consider them unpromising.

It is entirely obvious that these specific methods can be used in the theory of art under the conditions of the strict consistency of their utilization in terms of the problem under consideration. Exaggerating the possibilities of any one of them by broadening the realm of its application leads, as a rule, to partial and, occasionally, even distorted knowledge. Thus, overestimating the role of the symbolic approach in aesthetic research adversely affects the interpretation of the representational nature of art and the explanation of the specific sensory forms of artistic reflection of reality. The sociological method is not particularly effective in determining the specifics of the creative approach and the language of art. The so-called value approach, while contributing to determining the aesthetic characteristics of a work of art and the substantiation of its social significance and ideological trend, is underproductive in understanding the principles of artistic thinking and summation. Finally, "testing the harmony of art through algebra," could easily deaden its living soul, beauty and poetry.

Let us point out that despite some merits possessed by said methods, not one of them can guarantee a satisfactory interpretation of the cognitive and imagistic nature of artistic creativity, the nature of the attitude toward reality and the essence of the artistic method. However, these are major problems which are the nucleus of a truly scientific theory of art.

We are familiar with many definitions of art, which single out one specific artistic summation of characteristics or another. However, definitions which ignore its representative nature are obviously erroneous and, at best, inaccurate, for this is a qualitative characteristic of art which is determining in terms of all of its other characteristics.

Actually, whatever approach we may take to art--as an aesthetic attitude toward reality, its ideological and artistic assessment, a special form of sensory-emotional expression of man or a means of moral-aesthetic influence--

not one of these characteristics can be convincingly identified and substantiated unless we take the ability of art to reflect the world as its basic feature.

That is precisely why the dialectical-materialistic methodology of the theory of art, which presumes the unity of the various aspects of the study of artistic practice, also assigns a special role to gnosiology. The Leninist thesis of the unity of the dialectics, logic and theory of knowledge emphasizes the fact that "dialectics is precisely the theory of knowledge" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 29, p 321), and that the laws of dialectics are the laws of nature and of social life and knowledge. This is convincingly proved by the Leninist theory of reflection which has played a tremendous role in the development of the materialistic view on artistic creativity and is the philosophical and theoretical foundation of the art of socialist realism.

It is a quite noteworthy fact that the elements of dialectics which V. I. Lenin singles out in his "Philosophy Notebooks," are necessary prerequisites for true knowledge, including knowledge of art. Here are some of them: "The objectiveness of consideration" of objects, "the sum total of the comprehensiveness of interrelationships among such objects," "the development of these objects...and the dynamics and life of such development," "the combination of analysis with synthesis," "the infinite process of discovery of new aspects and relations," and "the intensification of our knowledge from a shallower to a deeper level" (ibid., pp 202-203).

These and other elements of dialectics formulated by Lenin (he identifies 16) are the foundation of the theory of reflection, which ensures the comprehensive aesthetic analysis of a greater idea of manifestations in art in their development and their internal and external ties.

The approach to dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge does not accidentally begin with the principle of objective consideration of reality. This principle is basic and universal in all forms of cognitive activities. Its key role in the aesthetic theory of art is based on the objective of identifying the realistic nature of the artistic process and the dialectics of the objective with the subjective in the process of reflecting the world around us.

This makes very important the remark expressed by Lenin in his "Materialism and Empiriocriticism" to the effect that "the objects of our concepts are distinguished from our concepts themselves; the object within itself is distinct from the object in terms of our own perception, for the latter is only a part or aspect of the former the way man himself is merely a particle of nature reflected in his mind" (op. cit., vol 18, p 119).

Therefore, regardless of their essential differences--not only in terms of form (material and ideal) but content as well--the object and its image, objective and subjective--are not in a state of absolute contraposition toward each other. This attitude is characterized by a certain unity, for man as the subject of knowledge and creativity reflects with relative accuracy one aspect of the objective world or another.

Essentially, unity between the objective and the subjective is that man, as "particle" of reality--natural and social--in turn reflects himself, representing this objective reality. "We must above all avoid," K. Marx wrote, "once again pitting 'society' as an abstraction against the individual. The individual is a social being. Therefore, any manifestation of his life, even if it does not operate directly as a collective manifestation of life, carried out along with others, is a manifestation and assertion of social life" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 42, p 119). Hence the inevitable mediation of individual awareness with the help of a variety of forms of social consciousness. This is an essential aspect in understanding the realistic nature of art and its social values and social functions. Calls for originality and artistic individuality as well as original talent and vision of the world do not essentially change matters. Conversely, true originality in creative work is manifested above all in the ability of the artist to express what is universally significant and really existing in a unique individual and personal manner.

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Lenin particularly emphasized this, noting in his article on L. N. Tolstoy the strongest feature of the realistic work of this great Russian writer: "Tolstoy is great as the spokesman for ideas and moods which had developed among millions of Russian peasants during the offensive of the bourgeois revolution in Russia" (op. cit., vol 17, p 210). Characteristically, in explaining the contradiction in the creativity and outlook of this classical writer, Lenin also proceeds from the principle that the individual awareness is subordinated to the social one: "...Contradictions in the views and theories expressed by Tolstoy are no accident but a manifestation of the contradictory conditions under which Russian life had developed during the last third of the 19th century" (ibid.).

In their works the great writers organically combine the objective with the subjective and the social with the individual and interpret the national, the ethnic, and the class naturally through the personal. They do not have any specific need for self-expression which would oppose an accurate depiction of the world. Genius and talent manifest themselves through the social while clearly and profoundly displaying kinship with their people. We find an interesting note about A. S. Pushkin, written by N. V. Gogol' in this respect: "The poet can be national even by depicting an entirely alien world but looking at it through the eyes of his national element, the eyes of his people, when he feels and speaks as though it would seem to his compatriots that they are feeling and speaking themselves" (N. V. Gogol', "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," vol VIII, Moscow, 1952, p 51). No one questions the originality of Pushkin, Gogol' or Tolstoy. Since this is a fact, there could not even be a question of the fact that not despite but precisely thanks to such originality they have reflected the world profoundly and truthfully.

Generally speaking, it is erroneous to assume, as is frequently the case, that the uniqueness of a work of art is entirely and fully determined by the individual features of its creator and his subjective views of the world. What is usually added to this is that had there been no Tolstoy, mankind would never have read "War and Peace"; had Cervantes not been born, we would not have been familiar with "Don Quixote." Naturally, this is accurate. However,

it is equally accurate that had there not been the patriotic war of 1812, Tolstoy would not have written his great work. Cervantes would not have created his "Don Quixote" had there not been in the world at that time that which, thanks to the brilliant Spanish novelist, began to be called quixotism. We must not forget that the attention of Tolstoy as an artist was drawn not merely to the historical fact of the patriotic war but its vital reality in its completeness and variety of specific manifestations, such as the heroism of the people, the tremendous destinies of individuals and the general patriotism which had covered the country. The overall impression of "War and Peace" is one of a combination of a tremendous variety of individual specific realities, somehow unique. Quixotism in life is no abstraction. It is not simply something above the personality but a feature of many individuals and is always something special and unique. No two items are absolutely identical in the world. In reflecting reality and what is common and characteristic within it, the artist also reproduces what is specific, unique or accidental. The former, as we know, takes place through the latter, which is precisely what determines the principle of artistic typification.

As we may see, underestimating objective reality as a source of uniqueness of a work of art is quite wrong. Hegel accurately noted that "on the one hand, originality presents to us the true soul of the artist; on the other, it offers us nothing other than the nature of the object, for this characteristic of the artist operates as a characteristic of the object itself and stems from it to the same extent as the object stems from the productive activities of the subject" (Hegel, "Estetika" [Aesthetics], vol I, Moscow, 1968, p 306).

To sum it up, we can say that the question of the characteristic, the originality and the uniqueness of a work of art can be resolved only on the basis of the dialectics of the objective and the subjective in artistic creativity.

As a structural component of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, Soviet aesthetics has always proceeded from the fact that although the individual is determined by the social factor, it nevertheless preserves a certain self-sufficing significance and, in turn, influences the sociohistorical process. The classics of Marxism-Leninism categorically opposed any belittling of the role of the individual in society. Marx emphasized that it is precisely people "who generate human social relations and social nature, which is not some kind of abstract universal force pitted against the individual but the essence of each individual and his own activities, his own life and his own enjoyment and wealth.... People are no abstraction but real, living and specific individuals. This is the essence of community. The social relation itself is what the individuals are" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 42, pp 23-24). In refuting the attempts of the opponents of Marxism who were accusing him of ignoring the individual, Lenin answered: "Naturally, no one has ever considered ascribing 'to a social group and autonomous existence separate from the individuals which compose it'..." (op. cit., vol 1, p 423).

To this day our ideological opponents frequently try to present matters as though the policy of the communist party in artistic culture and the method of socialist realism itself harm the individual principles in artistic creativity and coercively subordinate it to social requirements and objectives. The

point is that if we are speaking of the subordination of the artist to lofty social ideals, to any progressive representative of the creative intelligentsia, this is not forced in the least but is voluntary or, more specifically speaking, natural. "The poet is born to speak with his own voice but on behalf of many people.... If this quality is present, his first poems will become socially significant; his autobiography will become the 'history of the disease' of the century and the secrets of his own soul will become data from the archives of history," wrote the poet Paruyr Sevak in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

The art of socialist realism of recent years, rich in national and stylistic variety and individual styles, proves to us once again the power of the creative individuality of the artist. This is particularly clearly reflected in works of literature, which have given us high examples of original reflection of contemporary reality such as F. Abramov's "Pryasliny," P. Zagrebel'nyy's "Razgon" [Chase], V. Kozhevnikov's "Korni i Krona" [Roots and Crowns], V. Petrosyan's "Odinokaya Oreshina" [A Single Walnut Tree], A. Yakubov's "Sovest'" [Conscience], I. Shamyakin's "Voz'mu Tvoyu Bol'" [I Shall Take Your Pain] and many other novels. It includes the prose by G. Baklanov, Ch. Aytmatov, P. Proskurin, Yu. Bondarev, S. Sartakov, N. Dumbadze, Y. Avizhyus, M. Zarin', V. Drozd, P. Kadyrov, etc. The individual features, unique vital experience and professional skill of these and many other outstanding representatives of the art of socialist realism have not only been reflected in the nature and method of artistic study and discovery but have become inseparable prerequisites for the high civic-mindedness, artistic truthfulness and national characteristics of their works.

The dialectics of the objective and the subjective in knowledge in general, including knowledge of art, is manifested also in the fact that the more varied the subjective feature, the fuller and more objective becomes the content of our knowledge and concepts of the external world. Particularly essential in realistic art is the fact that the subjective factor contributes to the reflection of phenomena and processes in their real fullness, in really existing relations and ties--comprehensively, specifically and sensory-emotionally or, in other words, in the "forms of life." "They are richer than even what is most specific and most subjective," Lenin pointed out (op. cit., vol 29, p 212).

At this point it is important to emphasize the difference in the manifestations of the subjective factor on the level of daily awareness and theoretical cognitive activities. In the latter days our concepts are not burdened by specific interests, pragmatism or ordinary "common sense." In that sense the cognitive characters are freer, more independent and, therefore, more objective in terms of their content. Naturally, there is also a difference in the way in which the specific characters are expressed subjectively in a work of art, through their actions and steps and in the way this informs us of the author's attitude toward the depicted event. Noteworthy in this case is an excerpt from the novel "Kartina" [Picture] by D. Granin, in which the following is said about the main character Losev, the chairman of the city executive committee: "Whatever the nature of his character, he was not without one. However, what specific type of character did he have? Polivanov defamed him while Tanya was enthusiastic about him.

She called him responsive and dedicated and they each had their own Losev, different from that of the others. Losev himself could straighten out no one in this matter and say, 'That is what I actually am.'" D. Granin alone was able to do this and that is precisely what he did.

The point is that the author's subjective approach is expressed through the summed-up character, through the totality of various relations and ties (which are frequently quite contradictory), which arise in the course of the artistic reality of the work. It is precisely this which ensures the fullness and comprehensiveness of reflection in art and, therefore, its greater objectiveness. As a result, the images in art become richer, for they are "most concrete and most subjective."

The Leninist ideas of bringing art closer to the life of the people are being creatively developed steadily in communist party activities. At the present stage in the life of Soviet society, the party pays particular attention in the implementation of this objective to establishing closer ties between literature and art, on the one hand, and positive experience, economic management, and socioeconomic and cultural construction, on the other. As the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Creative Ties Between Literary-Artistic Journals and the Practice of the Building of Communism" emphasizes, this will contribute to enriching art with contemporary topics and relevant vital meanings and new social problems. It will open "broader scope for artistic creativity." Unquestionably, this important party document is most directly related not only to art and artistic criticism but to the science of aesthetics as well, whose range of competence includes the elaboration of a general theory of socialist realism, the development of its categorical apparatus and its methodology.

The thought of the social activeness of artistic creativity runs throughout the Central Committee's decree: "The increased social activeness, political maturity and professional skill of the writers allow the literary-artistic press to give a better account of itself in resolving problems of building communism and meeting the cultural demands of the people." The activeness of the artist is a prime condition for the creation of works of socialist realism and, in general, for realism in art. It makes itself felt at the very initial stages of creative work--in the creation of an idea and the choice of a topic and the set of problems to be discussed in the future work. However, the activeness of the artist is manifested most decisively in the course of his work with the material, when he begins to express his attitude toward it and, on this basis, creates a truthful and vivid artistic character.

A number of concepts within the theory of reflection are of exceptionally important methodological significance in understanding the activeness of artistic knowledge as a process which is dialectically conflicting, aggressive and creatively transforming. Lenin pointed out that "the reflection of nature in the human mind should be understood not as something 'dead' or 'abstract,' and not without its dynamics or contradictions but in the course of the eternal process of motion and the appearance of contradictions and their resolution" (op. cit., vol 29, p 177). The extent to which this has been achieved in a creative work determines the possibility of the artistic

reflection of life in its entire complexity, deep relations and contradictory nature of characters and situations.

It has been pointed out that, as a rule, interesting characters are found in works which depict reality not in its accidental or secondary manifestations and not superficially and simplistically, but in the search, study and determination of cause-and-effect relations among its various sides. When reality simply becomes a background, a surrounding, the characters themselves become stilted and schematic. The closer to life and the more adequately circumstances and conflicts are depicted, the richer and more natural become the characters who may turn out to be profoundly conflicting. This is clearly visible in characters new in our art such as Academician Karnal' ("Razgon"), the teacher Kamsaryan ("Odinokaya Oreshina"), the journalist Ramishvili ("Zakon Vechnosti" [Law of Eternity]) in literature; engineer Cheshkov ("A Man From the Side"), director Druyanov ("Ordinary Day"), steel smelter Lagutin ("Steel Smelters") and dispatcher Shindin ("We, the Undersigned") in the theater and investigator Yermakov ("The Train Stopped") and association manager Abrikosov ("Private Life") in cinematography.

Characteristically, these heroes and the situations which motivate their actions and steps are described in their dynamics, in their development. Lenin repeatedly drew attention to this important aspect in cognitive activities. In particular, in his "On the Problem of Dialectics," he emphasized the need "to study all processes of life in their 'self-dynamics,' in their spontaneous development, in their living reality" (ibid., p 317). As we know, this concept of the general theory of knowledge has been directly reflected in one of the principles of the artistic method of socialist realism--the principle of depicting reality in its specific-historical and revolutionary dynamics.

The attention which art pays to the profound social changes which are taking place in the developed socialist society is expressed in the consistency and development of artistic depictions. Even a most interesting thought or idea can be easily depreciated unless the means for its implementation has been indicated. What is more important is not the occasion, the impetus which leads to a development of events, characters and plots but a movement toward an objective and the means of reaching it. In other words, it is far more essential to prove and motivate the reason for which everything occurring in a work is taking place. In A. Gel'man's play "Party Committee Session," the refusal of a brigade of construction workers to receive a bonus is the direct reason for the development of events. Frankly speaking, this is an atypical situation. However, it suited the author who could thus dramatize the action and draw attention to another and more important aspect both to him and the public. A. Gel'man is concerned by the moral aspect of the problem--the unwillingness of the workers to tolerate a poor organization of the production process, irregular deliveries and interdepartmental squabbles and their desire to resolve such problems, to find the "root" of the evil. It is precisely this moral aspect that the author discusses extensively, systematically developing the action and gradually leading the viewer to the thought of the uncompromising nature of the characters--the members of Potapov's brigade.

A work of art triggers a serious and confidential attitude if the reader or the viewer can find the logic which led to the origin and development of the idea. The true artist always takes this objective logic into consideration instead of imposing his own. Such was the case with the authors of one of the best contemporary works: the television movie "Your Son, Earth" (script by S. Zhgenti, directed by R. Chkheidze). A number of improvisations took place in the course of the filming, dictated by specific circumstances of reality, by situations which arose but were not included in the scenario. However, this was no obstacle to their inclusion in the film, for in this case the purposefulness of the authors to achieve a continuing search played a determining role.

The idea of unexpected actions by the characters and unexpected twists in the plots, which make it necessary to review the initial idea, is frequently encountered in the diaries and memoirs of masters of the arts. We are familiar with many statements on this account by the Russian literary classics--Pushkin, Tolstoy and Gorkiy--proving that artistic creativity is always a process of dynamics, of coming closer to the truth, rather than the embodiment of ready-made truth. In this light, particularly significant in understanding the cognitive activities of the artist is Lenin's remark that "...we should not assume our knowledge as acquired and unchanging but understand how lack of knowledge becomes knowledge and how the partial and inaccurate knowledge becomes fuller and more accurate" (op. cit., vol 18, p 102). A work of art is a search for the truth rather than its result. Truth appears in the course of the creative process. "To achieve a grain of truth among the audience is a path leading to reciprocal respect which is contained in the word 'contact'," is the way director G. Tovstonogov formulates his belief.

As we pointed out, the activeness of the artist is manifested in all parts of the creative process without exception, in the realization of the socioesthetic function of contemporary art, the main purpose of which is to bring to light the aesthetic content of the socialist way of life and its further advancement and transformation "according to the laws of beauty," and the ideals of communism. Therefore, in the art of socialist realism cognitive activities are particularly closely related to the conceptual stand held by the artist and the party and nationality-mindedness of his creativity. The strength of communist party-mindedness lies precisely in the fact that it organically proceeds from the truth of life, from its historical laws and development trends. Hence the indivisibility of ties in the method of socialist realism between the principles of the truthful reflection of life and the party-mindedness of art.

Understanding the party-mindedness of art presumes achieving the unity of objective reality with the aesthetic ideal as a structural component of the communist ideal. This unity is achieved most fully through the ideological trend followed by the work and its positive characters. It is natural, therefore, that the image of the positive character has always been part of the tradition of Soviet art, something which goes on to this day. The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Creative Ties of Literary-Artistic Journals With the Practice of Building Communism" stipulates that "the new generations of Soviet people need a positive character close to them in terms of spirit

and time, a character who will be perceived as an artistic discovery and will influence the actions of the people and reflect the people's destinies."

A clear example of such a personality in art in harmony with our time is Georgiy Toreli, the raykom secretary, in the television film "Your Son, Earth." The character is believable, he is recognizable as though really existing. This is particularly noteworthy, considering that some authors, afraid of depicting an ideal character, deliberately try to bring him down to earth and absolutely "balance" his good features with character faults, assuming that the "truth of life" lies precisely in this. As a rule, this does not add to the truth but creates a fictitious, an artificial complexity. If something ideal is reflected in a work, it is a reflection and development of corresponding aspects of reality which does not conflict with the truth in the least. Naturally, the party-mindedness of art is manifested not only in asserting the beautiful and the lofty. It is expressed in the entire character system of the work, including the attitude toward what is negative, shameful and base. Brecht wrote that "if you are asked whether you are a communist it would be good for you to confirm this by showing your paintings as though they were your party cards."

One of the central concepts of the Leninist theory of reflection is the concept of truth. It is of exceptional importance in the study of the realistic nature of art and in determining the level of adequacy and consistency between the artistic character and the reflected object. To one extent or another this question has been discussed in the study of the dialectics of the objective and the subjective in creativity and the activeness of artistic reflection. However, these aspects hardly exhaust the problem, bearing in mind its great significance and particular scope.

It is particularly important in this connection to consider the correlation between the concepts of truth and artistic truth. Although not always clearly, in aesthetic literature, we occasionally feel a lack of clarity in the views relative to such concepts. In some cases, if we deal with the concept of truth in the study of a work of art we display a certain caution in our assumption that it is more correct to speak of truth in science and of artistic truth in art. In others, they are frequently confused and considered synonymous. In both cases, one of the aspects of this correlation is exaggerated, as a result of which we may end up by underestimating either the cognitive possibilities of art or its artistic-aesthetic specifics.

Actually, the concept of artistic truth has traditionally sunk roots in the theory of art. The objective reason for this is that the artistic reflection of reality presumes the manifestation and expression of the truth through the specific ways and means of art or, to be more accurate and comprehensive, through the artistic method. The main feature is that, in the final account, art can provide us with the true, the objective concepts of the world. This feature is at the base of its realistic nature and is directly within the range of competence of gnosiology. Hence the specific methodological significance of the concept of truth in aesthetics, which is more general in terms of the concept of artistic truth.

Doubts as to the legitimacy of turning to the concept of truth in the study of art arise essentially because of the shallow understanding of the dialectics of the objective and the subjective in art. As we pointed out, the subjective and the individual-personal are aspects of the objective and the universally significant.

In this specific meaning, the content of our images, perceptions and views, including the ones related to art, have the content of the truth. In art, as one of the forms of the reflection of reality, the general concept of the relativity of truth prevails. Awareness, Lenin writes, "is only the reflection of life. At best it is an approximately accurate (adequate, ideally precise) reflection of life" (op. cit., vol 18, p 326). He also writes that "the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels unquestionably includes relativism without being reduced to it, i.e., the technologically relative nature of all of our knowledge not in the sense of denying the objective truth but in the sense of the historical conventionality of the closeness to which our knowledge can come to this truth" (ibid., p 139). It is natural that in artistic knowledge the subjective aspects of truth indicated by Lenin are manifested specifically, which is also determined by the specific role of the individual-personality factor. The study of this problem would require a determination of the degree and extent of relativity of the truth depending on the specific cases of creativity and the ways and means of artistic reflection. This would be quite useful. Now, however, on this basis let us merely point out that no specifics in any form of cognitive activity can replace objective truth. We see this constantly in the process of communicating with realistic art and correlating it with the objective world. Despite the particular emphasis of the subjective feature in art artistic truth is one of the forms of manifestation of the truth.

As to the conventionality of artistic characters, occasionally it acquires a generalized meaning. Thus, in the motion picture "Communist" (Ye. Gabrilovich and Yu. Rayzman), there is a scene in which the main character Vasilii Gubanov is felling trees in the forest to stoke a locomotive engine. The huge trunks keep collapsing, one after the other, as though under the impact of the powerful elements of nature. This is unnatural, impossible, regardless of the extraordinary force of any one man. This conventional circumstance symbolically expresses the idea that the person, the communist, can do a great deal if so required by the revolution. Yet the revolution had to have this train reach its destination within the shortest possible time. The idea, the thought of the exceptional possibilities of a person, realized under extreme situations, is not conventional in the least. It is the unquestionable truth. In the play "Vasilii Terkin," at the Theater imeni Mossovet, there are seven members of the Terkin family on the stage. This is another conventionality and fiction. However, in the words of Tvardovskiy himself:

What is it that you don't understand
That you cannot realize among yourselves?
According to the regulation every company
Will be assigned its own Terkin.

This idea of the incalculable number of Terkin prototypes at the fronts of the Great Patriotic War is another unconventional truth.

The possible conclusion, therefore, is that the concept of truth in art accentuates the meaningful aspect of the artistic character when we compare it to reality. Meanwhile, the concept of artistic truth covers the character in the combination of all of his components and the unity of content and form. Truth may be manifested in any form--specific-sensory and abstract-logical, and artistic truth--exclusively in the specific-sensory form of the character. Here along with the common nature of such concepts we also find certain differences among them. The differences are relative, as though noted and determined by the specific nature of the artistic form of reflection. Truth in life and truth in science, and artistic truth in art are different forms of manifestation of one and the same, i.e., the consistency and the accuracy of our concepts--ordinary, scientific or artistic--of the objective image of the world.

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ECONOMIC INTENSIFICATION--STRATEGIC TASK OF THE CZCP

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[Review by V. Kadulin of NOVA MYSL, theoretical and political journal of the CzCP Central Committee]

[Text] Intensifying the collective work of the communist and worker parties and governments of CEMA member countries in developing cooperation and socialist economic integration and exchanging experience in economic construction was considered useful at last June's economic summit meeting of CEMA member countries. It is from this viewpoint that the study by the Soviet readers of the materials of the special issue of the fraternal journal, entirely dedicated to such an important and topical subject, which came out at the end of last year, is interesting and instructive. It enables us to see better and clarify more profoundly the common and specific features in the process of converting the national economy of one of the highly economically developed countries within the socialist community to the track of intensification.

The 16th CzCP Congress, writes Z. Sojak, head of the CzCP Central Committee economic department, in the lead article "Economic Intensification--the strategic task of the party's economic policy," particularly emphasized that the high quality of the work and efficient economic management are of decisive significance in the further progress of the country toward building a developed socialist society. This is the basis of the economic and social policy of the CzCP, the most important purpose of which, considering the substantially worsened domestic and foreign conditions of economic development, is to preserve and raise to a qualitatively new level the high living standard reached by the people and their social guarantees.

The author substantiates the need for the precise type of overall economy and reduction of outlays of labor and materials in terms of end results. He opposes attempts to reduce the concept of intensification merely to the conservation of labor and the dynamics of labor productivity. Such an approach, in his view, is one-sided and simplistic. Increased labor productivity may not lead to the growth of national economic efficiency if, for example, it is accompanied by an excessive increase in capital-, material- or energy-intensiveness. In the course of the development of scientific and technical progress the share of materials increases sharply in the overall

volume of outlays and so does the significance of its conservation. However, it would be hardly accurate, the author writes, to consider on this basis that the capital-intensiveness as well is just about the only criterion of intensification.

Noteworthy in both this and other articles in the same issue is the fact that the conversion of the economy to a primarily intensive development is a problem facing not only Czechoslovakia today. The course of intensification was accurately formulated above all at the 26th CPSU Congress and at the congresses of the other fraternal parties in the socialist countries.

The materials contained in the issue offer a sufficiently broad idea of the nature and basic trends of the creative efforts made by Czechoslovak social scientists engaged in the scientific development of the intensification problem. Significant progress in this area, particularly in the comprehensive study of the process of economic growth and its factors and the extensive and intensive types of reproduction, has been made by the scientists in the socialist countries over the past 10 years, as noted in the article "Theoretical Aspects of Economic Intensification," by J. Vaner, candidate of economic sciences and member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, and Candidate of Economic Sciences J. Shafarz, head of chair at the Higher School of Economics in Prague.

In general terms it is clear that national economic intensification should lead to its increased efficiency. In practice, however, this is by no means always the case. For example, resource conservation may be accompanied by worsened quality of output, i.e., an actual decline in national economic results and lowered production efficiency. Therefore, the authors emphasize, resource conservation should not be interpreted simplistically in terms of any reduction of overall consumption per unit of output regardless of end results. The type of reduction as a result of which the quality of output worsens or the satisfaction of social needs is hindered in any other way is nothing but pseudo-intensification.

In this connection, the authors write, the question of adequately assessing the results of intensification (in physical or monetary terms) becomes exceptionally topical). Quite frequently such an assessment becomes impossible in actual economic practice. Yet the level of economic management and the efforts to intensify output as well as the choice of the most promising intensification directions depend to a decisive extent on the adequacy with which the output has been rated from the viewpoint of its efficiency. That is why the precise quantitative correlation between the end result and the outlays is of key significance, for it enables us to determine whether or not the achieved economy is imaginary or real and, in the latter case, its actual value.

The authors distinguish between two basic forms of public labor savings. The first presumes the fullest possible utilization of existing resources, including those in the nonproduction area, and the resources for final consumption. This method of economizing on public labor outlays may be described as the primary form of intensification. In economic policy this

method is specifically manifested in the harnessing of internal reserves and in a regimen of thrift.

The second presumes the reorganization and improvement of initial resources and the enhancement of their individual consumer value. At this point we are dealing with a superior form of intensification. Its main content is scientific and technical progress and the increased skill of the workers. This is the main, the decisive trend of intensification. The exhaustion of the traditional reserves of social labor savings which lie on the surface increase the urgency of the qualitative reorganization of the resource potential and the discovery and involvement in the production process of essentially new resources as well as making profound changes in the structure of the national economy.

The implementation of the law of time savings presumes the proportional development of production which, in the final account, depends on balancing its structure with the consumption structure, writes Dr of Philosophical Sciences Prof I. Gruz, head of the chair of scientific communism at the CzCP Central Committee Higher Political School, in the article "On the Sociopolitical Interconnections in the Intensification of Our Economic Development." The disturbance of this balance may drastically reduce incentives which encourage the people to develop further the production process or even to maintain it at the level reached.

Greater knowledge of the inner dynamics of the dialectical interconnections between production forces and production relations and economics and politics at the present stage in the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the author points out, is a necessary prerequisite for the successful implementation of key intensification tasks: combining the achievements of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism and further enhancing the leading role of the party in society.

The article "Anticommunist Criticism of the Economy of the Socialist Countries," by P. Marciciak, associate at the Klement Gottwald Military-Political Academy, in Bratislava, exposes the motives and contemporary means of such "criticism" and broadens the framework of the positive consideration of intensification problems.

The author relates the development in contemporary anticommunism to the sharp turn in the economic theory and other realms of bourgeois social knowledge which occurred in the second half of the 1970s and the policies of the capitalist countries, which he describes as the "conservative counterrevolution" and the advent of "neoconservatism." The reasons for this turn are found in the profound material and spiritual crisis which has gripped the capitalist world. Today the concepts of the "fabulous economy" and others, and the equally openly anticommunist doctrines which were quite popular during the cold war, are experiencing a "revival."

The bourgeois ideologues continue to claim that the efficiency of the socialist economic mechanism, the efficiency of which they deny a priori, could be ensured only as a result of the expensive "liberalizing" of economic life, by which they mean the systematic weakening of the public ownership of

productive capital, the economic functions of the socialist state and the party's leading role.

Unable to conceal the unquestionable successes achieved by real socialism in its economic competition with capitalism, the bourgeois ideologues are trying to prove that the socialist system could be "an efficient instrument for the primary process of industrialization and for extensive economic growth. They claim that the socialist economic mechanism is unable to cope with the tasks of economic intensification, the practical application of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and ensuring the optimal utilization of available resources. The anticommunist ideologues are deliberately exaggerating the difficulties and shortcomings which real socialism is surmounting in the course of its progress, identifying them with crisis phenomena which are inherent in the capitalist economy.

Naturally, Marxist-Leninist theory, the author says, does not ignore the major problems and difficulties which exist and which stand in the way of socialist social production intensification. On the contrary, it is persistently seeking and finding ways of surmounting such difficulties and resolving the nonantagonistic contradictions which arise in the course of building and improving the developed socialist society and are an internal source of its steady progress. Crises and conflict situations, as a higher stage of development of contradictions, are not in the least fatally inevitable under socialism. However, it is also important to emphasize that the objective possibility of their crisis-free solution does not come automatically. The conversion of this possibility into reality takes place thanks to the purposeful and active policy of the communist party and the socialist state.

The exceptionally great importance of the line charted at the 16th Party Congress of strengthening the ties between science and production and the urgency of seeking new and more efficient forms of such connections was indicated once again at the 8th CzCP Central Committee Plenum of June 1983. It is entirely natural that this issue deal extensively with studies of the contemporary strategy of scientific and technical development.

As Candidate of Economic Sciences J. Safarz points out in his article "Scientific and Technical Progress in the Period of Intensification," the specific nature of this strategy under Czechoslovak conditions is dictated not in the least place by the limited by the incomplete nature of the domestic natural resources needed, in particular, by the chemical industry, ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and many sectors engaged in the production of consumer goods. The development of the Czechoslovak industry can rely on its own raw material base to a very small extent. Although the Czechoslovak economy is distinguished by the high level of intensiveness with which it is exploiting its own raw material resources, with every passing year increasing volumes of raw materials, fuel and energy are needed to meet urgent production requirements.

The raw material base for the material production is gradually worsening. Social labor outlays for the development and operation of deposits are increasing as a result of the increased cost of geological surveys and the growth of specific capital investments for the extraction and production of

primary raw materials. Thus, average outlays per ton of extracted coal nearly doubled from 1970 to 1982. The current extraction and concentration costs per ton of ore are approximately double those of 1970.

It is easy to understand that the relatively low percentage of domestic raw materials used for industrial needs makes the Czechoslovak national economy inordinately sensitive to fluctuations in supply and demand on the world market and to changes in raw material, fuel and energy prices. This requires their all-round conservation even more persistently.

In describing the most important technical and organizational measures for the efficient utilization of natural resources, the author substantiates the great importance which the economic assessment of these resources in terms of national economic intensification. The monetary assessment of the maximally possible economic effect achieved in their exploitation, as the extensively developed survey of basic natural resources are necessary prerequisites for upgrading the efficiency of the entire national economy.

In this article the author discusses in detail the role of investment policy in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and in shaping the initial material and technical foundation for intensification. In the contemporary structure of capital investment outlays for production updating and reconstruction, the utilization of the most promising technical innovations and the accelerated development of low- and wasteless and resource-conserving technologies must play an increasing role in the contemporary structure of capital investments. It is important to undertake without delay the gradual elimination of production facilities distinguished by particularly high specific consumption of energy, raw materials and fuels and the export of ineffective goods and undertake the building of enterprises which ensure the fast recovery of capital outlays and increase the export possibilities of the Czechoslovak economy and its participation in the international division of labor.

The heads of the communist and worker parties and governments of CEMA member countries who took part in the summit economic conference, unanimously agreed on the need and relevance of further upgrading the scale and enhancing the efficiency of reciprocal cooperation.

In the present decade its main form and the main tool for reorganization of the national economic structures and economic intensification of CEMA member countries are increased specialization and production cooperation within the framework of the socialist community. The main trends and tasks in the systematic reorganization of these structures were formulated, as we know, in the long-term target programs for comprehensive cooperation through 1990. In his article "Structural Changes and International Socialist Economic Integration," Prof S. Gradecki, rector at the Higher School of Economics in Prague, discusses in detail the content of the five target programs which were formulated and are currently being implemented in the production of fuel, raw materials and energy, machine building, light industry, agriculture and food industry and transportation.

With the help of extensive factual data the author describes convincingly the significance of the joint implementation of said programs by the socialist states in order to ensure their further economic progress. For example, the European CEMA member countries (excluding the Soviet Union), which account for 40 percent of the population of the entire socialist community, account for no more than 3 percent of the overall petroleum and natural gas reserves and 2 percent of the iron ore reserves. The Soviet Union is the main supplier of the most important types of fuel and energy within CEMA. Between 1976 and 1980 alone it exported to the fraternal socialist countries 378 million tons of petroleum, 94 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 52 million tons of petroleum products and a great deal of iron ore and other raw materials.

The participants in the economic conference expressed their confidence that by mobilizing their own resources and intensifying reciprocal cooperation a solution could be found by all CEMA member countries to the raw material and fuel and energy problems. To this effect comprehensive steps must be taken aimed, above all, at the economic and efficient utilization of energy and raw materials and reducing energy- and material-intensiveness of output on the basis of the application of progressive technological processes and contemporary machines and equipment, and changing the structure of the production and consumption of raw materials and energy.

Making structural changes in the Czechoslovak national economy will be no simple matter, the author writes. It will require time and considerable capital investment. Such a reorganization involves, among other things, a significant reduction in the variety of items produced by the machine-building industry in the country. Today the list of goods produced by the Czechoslovak machine-building industry accounts for approximately 70 percent of the variety of items produced in the rest of the world. Under such circumstances it is difficult to ensure the systematic and fast technical updating of machines and equipment, their quality standards consistent with the best produced anywhere else in the world and to organize on the necessary scale experimental design developments for new equipment.

One of the shortcomings of the present structure of Czechoslovak industry is the high share of heavy machine building, whereas the share of promising sectors such as, for example, electrical engineering, remains low. In accordance with the resolutions of the 16th CzCP Congress, the acceleration of the electronic industry will be developed, above all the production of microelectronic items and means of automation. At the same time, the author states, it is exceptionally important to reach advanced technical standards in the traditional sectors of Czechoslovak machine building by supplying them with control and management systems, thus making their output competitive on the world market.

In discussing the factors which contribute to the accelerated structural reorganization of the Czechoslovak national economy and the technical updating of the production process, the author particularly emphasizes the need for a systematic rapprochement among the structures of the economic mechanisms of CEMA member countries and the extensive development of direct relations among ministries, associations and enterprises. Direct ties between production collectives offer the possibility of organizing joint work at the very stage

of production preparations and efficiently to eliminate arising hindrances. However, as the article points out, a number of organizational, economic and legal problems remain to be resolved in order to ensure the further development and strengthening of such direct contacts and considerably to upgrade their efficiency.

The article by M. Irges, director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism at Komensky University in Bratislava, "The Exceptional Role of Czechoslovak-Soviet Cooperation in the Intensification of Economic Processes," provides extensive and varied statistical data for the clarification of the extensive political and socioeconomic significance of both multilateral and bilateral relations among the members of the socialist community.

The material and technical support of the production process and the stable and uninterrupted marketing of finished products are the main prerequisites for the efficiency of the functioning of the Czechoslovak economy, which is greatly dependent on the foreign market. Partnership with the Soviet Union, the possibilities of which both as a supplier of materials and equipment and consumer of commodities which Czechoslovakia uses to pay for Soviet deliveries are tremendous and vitally important to Czechoslovakia, the article points out.

M. Irges describes the most important role which scientific and technical cooperation with the USSR plays in the intensification of the Czechoslovak economy. This is clearly exemplified by Soviet participation in the development of scientific research in Czechoslovakia in the areas of nuclear physics and power, and the designing and construction of the Nuclear Research Institute which was supplied by the Soviet partner with an experimental nuclear reactor, a cyclotron and other equipment. The USSR put at the disposal of Czechoslovakia more than 6,500 sets of technical documentation with the help of which a large number of industrial enterprises and other projects were updated or commissioned. In turn, Czechoslovakia has given the Soviet Union about 6,600 sets of technical documents on the production of machines and equipment. Scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries include the implementation of some 200 jointly elaborated plans covering a great variety of economic sectors. In recent years such cooperation has brought Czechoslovakia economic benefits in excess of 1 billion korunas annually.

Bilateral relations between the USSR and Czechoslovakia have been extensively developed in material production as well. Thus, joint construction and operation of enterprises are under way in the fuel-energy and extracting industrial sectors. In order to increase imports of fuel and raw materials from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia gave it long-term loans which were used for the extraction and concentration of ores and the production of ferrous and nonferrous metals. To the same effect Czechoslovakia supplies the Soviet Union with Tatra trucks, pipes and various types of equipment.

Procurements from the USSR account for 98 percent of the requirements of the Czechoslovak national economy for petroleum and 99.9 percent for natural gas. In 1980 alone the Soviet Union exported to Czechoslovakia 19 million tons of petroleum, 7.7 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 3.2 million tons of coal,

10.3 million tons of iron ore, 791,000 tons of chemical fertilizers, 68,000 tons of cotton and other varieties of most valuable raw materials as well as 2.2 billion kilowatt hours of electric power. In 1980, 27.4 percent of the overall volume of Soviet goods imported by Czechoslovakia consisted of machines and equipment and transportation facilities.

The author points out that the Long-Term Program for the Development of Production Specialization and Cooperation for the Period Through 1990, which was initialed by the two countries in March 1980, became an exceptionally important structure-determining factor in the Czechoslovak economy. It is on its basis that subprograms were formulated and adopted in a number of machine-building and chemical industry sectors. The agreements cover the production of metallurgical, power, chemical and hydraulic equipment, diesel and electric locomotives, electric engineering and electronic items, metal processing machine tools and machines for the light and food industries; they account for an extensive division of labor in the chemical and petrochemical industries.

Z. Halupski, head of the Office of International Division of Labor and Socialist Integration at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, writes in this special issue that intensification processes cannot be fully developed within a limited national framework and without an overall planned coordination of strategic trends of economic activities. The internationalization of economic activities offers each participant in the socialist community opportunity for steady socioeconomic progress, paralleled by the equalization of economic potentials and rapprochement among national economies. Such coordination, the author notes in his article "The Significance of Czechoslovakia's Inclusion in the Process of Socialist Economic Integration in Terms of Economic Intensification," requires the elaboration of a common long-term structural policy, a coordination of rates of economic growth and defining priority areas in the development of the specialization of the national economic complexes in accordance with the main trends of scientific and technical progress.

Naturally, all of this presumes the further improvement of the mechanism used in controlling socialist economic integration. From the economic viewpoint, the author writes, the optimum specialization of the national economic complex within a given country can be presented as the maximum economy of social labor reached in this connection. This optimum represents the fullest possible consistency between the specialization of the national economy of a given country on the scale of the socialist community and its natural conditions and the level reached of economic development. In the context of international relations this optimum appears to lose its absolute nature. The achievements of the maximal end effect under the conditions of international socialist economic integration mandatorily presumes the reciprocal adaptation of the national economic structures of the individual countries and the coordination of local and national optimums of specialization from the viewpoint of the interests of the entire socialist community.

The idea that the conversion of the socialist economy to the primarily intensive development is organically related to improvements in the entire management system and all units within the economic mechanism runs throughout the entire issue. It is precisely in the hands of the managers, writes Dr of

Economic Sciences I. Galuska, senior associate in the apparatus of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, in the article "The Key Role of Management in Economic Intensification," that rest many of the levers for upgrading the creative activeness and efficiency of the working people and the growth of end production results consistent with the interests of the entire community.

A specific manifestation of the efforts which were made in Czechoslovakia to optimize economic management was the adoption of a set of measures to improve the system for planned management of the national economy after 1980. This document, as L. Mateyki, secretary of the State Committee for Problems of Planned Management of the National Economy, notes in his article "Significance of the Set of Measures for the Intensification of the Czechoslovak National Economy," is a major step in the further development of the economic mechanism and the implementation of the party's economic policy. The adoption of this document marks the beginning of an important stage in the process of adapting the system of the planned management of the Czechoslovak economy to the requirements of intensification. The set of measures was based on the lessons drawn from the extensive experiment which was conducted in Czechoslovakia between 1978 and 1980 in controlling efficiency and quality and the experience gained in resolving similar problems acquired by other socialist countries, the USSR above all.

The high quality of planning, in the course of which optimal tasks and public production ratios are adopted on the basis of criteria of economic efficiency and plans are balanced from the physical and value viewpoints, the author writes, is a decisive factor in ensuring the successful functioning of all units within the management system. However, as one of the components of this system, although the most important, the plan can enable us to accelerate the pace of socioeconomic development and to upgrade public production efficiency only in close and coordinated interaction with the sum total of management means and methods.

The set of measures stipulates the enhanced role of the five-year plan which must provide a development concept for the planned period. More systematically than in the past the five-year plan is directed toward improving the quality characteristics of the reproduction process. The formulation of an entire system of material and value balances, structural and marketing above all, is contemplated in order to ensure proportionality and interconnection of plans. Great significance is ascribed to strengthening the normative base of planning. Steps are taken to make the plan for scientific and technical progress the linchpin of the national economic plan, which must combine unity of technical and economic development. The elaboration of long-term forecasts will broaden the horizons of planning and enhance its scientific level. The target program approach in forming a development strategy is intensified and the role of comprehensive target programs in planning is enhanced.

All of this work is inseparably combined within the complex of measures with improvements in the system of cost-accounting economic relations, called upon to enhance the responsibility of associations and enterprises for end production results. To this effect we are improving the procedure for state budget withholdings and the system for the economic incentive of labor

collectives. More favorable conditions are provided for the development of internal cost accounting of enterprises and associations. The role of finances and credits as an efficient instrument for production development is being increased.

The period since the adoption of the set of measures enables us to say with confidence, the author writes, that as a whole they have had a positive impact on economic life. The production of finished goods outstripped overall production growth. Some progress has been attained in scientific and technical development and in upgrading production quality. The innovative activeness of enterprises and associations has been increased somewhat and so has the share of new commodities in the overall volume of output. However, the state plan for scientific and technical development, which provides mandatory requirements for updating and upgrading production quality at enterprises and associations and the application of the achievements of scientific and progress was not, as the article points out, supported by an effective system of economic incentives in which wholesale prices should play a very important role.

The set of measures favorably influenced the lowering of material and power-intensiveness of output. This was helped by setting limits in the consumption of fuels and some types of raw materials, stricter import regulations and the initiation of structural changes in some economic sectors. According to the author, the planned gradual rapprochement between inner wholesale prices of imported raw and other materials and prices charged in the world market will be a powerful incentive for saving on material outlays.

As confirmed by the 2-year experience, the use of the profitability indicator greatly helps in saving on all types of outlays and upgrading production efficiency. Everything proves that with the exhaustion of easily harnessed possibilities of increasing the added product, the opportunity will arise for exerting a more intensive influence by this planning indicator on upgrading production efficiency.

The set of measures, the article stipulates, has not influenced substantially so far the situation in capital construction based on centralized funds. Noticeable positive changes have been achieved only in the area of so-called limited construction, financed out of enterprises funds. The use of the self-financing principle encourages economic managers to be more careful in making decisions on building one project or another and makes them interested in the fast and efficient implementation of investment programs.

Starting with 1982, with few exceptions the size of the production-industrial personnel will not be planned for enterprises and associations on a centralized basis. The saved share of the wage fund will be left at their disposal. However, the hope that this step will significantly increase the incentive of enterprises and associations in economizing on manpower resources has not been justified so far. The enterprises are still unwilling to reduce their staffs. According to the author, one of the reasons is the fact that the wage fund at the disposal of the enterprises has been adequate, even without reducing the size of the staff, for ensuring the payment of relatively high wages.

The Czechoslovak party and state organs pay great attention to the elaboration of more efficient and, to the extent to which it is possible, experimentally tested steps aimed at the further advancement of the system of planned management of the socialist economy. The practical testing of some new elements of this system was initiated in 1983.

For example, the author describes the steps taken to strengthen ties between production and foreign trade and to intensify the cost-accounting responsibility of production and foreign trade organizations for upgrading its effectiveness. Two types of experiments are conducted to this effect. The first calls for the organizational inclusion of the foreign trade organization or any one of its subunits within the structure of the respective production-economic association. According to the second, while remaining organizationally separate, the foreign trade organization conducts its activities at the expense of the production-economic association whose output it markets. In both cases, the producer is materially responsible not only for the implementation of the planned assignments for the manufacturing of the exported goods but for their marketing as well.

Steps to streamline capital construction and to establish a single capital investment fund based on the funds of the production-economic associations (withheld in accordance with stipulated norms), bank credits and centralized funds are being experimentally tested. Their purpose is to increase the cost-accounting responsibility of enterprises and organizations for the timely completion and mastery of production capacities.

Increasing the effect of the price-setting mechanism on the pace and level of research and experimentation and on updating and improving the quality of output is contemplated. The material incentive of designers and other creative workers in the fastest possible application of scientific and technical accomplishments will be increased. The economic and organizational ties among research, experimental work and current production activities within production-economic associations will be strengthened. In 1984-1985 the set of measures to improve the system of planned national economic management will involve other changes and refinements as well. At the same time work will be continued on a long-term program for the further updating of the economic mechanism.

As was pointed out at the 16th CzCP Congress, the systematic application of the set of measures and the strengthening of planning, contractual, financial and labor discipline should be assisted by the adoption of economic, labor and financial legislation. What practical steps are being taken today in Czechoslovakia in this respect? A rather full answer to this question is found in the article by Candidate of Juridical Sciences S. Vanek, chief arbiter of Czechoslovakia, "The Role of Economic Law in the Period of Intensification of the Czechoslovak Economy."

The updating of economic legislation will significantly enhance the role of the economic contract as a planning tool. The discussion by the partners of the stipulations of the economic contract they conclude, based on the presumed assignments of the national economic plan, will make it possible to identify

and, above all, promptly to eliminate disparities between the needs of customers and the possibilities of manufacture which previously became apparent only in the course of the implementation of the state plans. The plan sets overall tasks and earmarks overall volumes of output in terms of volume or cash. However detailed a plan may be, it is practically impossible to include within it all specific requirements of individual enterprises and organizations. Yet without this one cannot be assured that the interests of the consumer, which is the purpose of the state plan, will be fully satisfied, the author writes. For example, the planned assignment of producing 30 million korunas' worth of spare parts may turn out to be implemented as a whole. However, some parts may not be manufactured at all while others may turn out to be precisely the type of spare parts most needed by an enterprise or the population.

The legislatively formulated procedure for concluding economic contracts between suppliers and consumers is aimed precisely at the elimination of such disproportions. Such contracts are scheduled to assume an important role in the planning process. The law makes it mandatory on the superior management organs to take all the necessary measures for the elimination of reasons which could violate economic contracts. The economic code also includes a number of articles aimed at ensuring scientific and technical progress and, in particular, defining procedures for the conclusion of contracts on joint scientific and technical developments and the utilization of their results in production. The obligations of economic organizations and management organs in terms of foreign trade delivery have been legislatively qualified. The purpose of streamlining economic legislation is also aimed at upgrading the economic responsibility of enterprises and organizations for violations of plans and contractual obligations. Enterprises which avoid the conclusion of an economic contract for commodity deliveries will now be mandatorily fined. Finished goods, the production of which is not included in economic contracts, will not be taken into consideration in assessing the results of production activities or determining the size of withholdings for the economic incentive funds of enterprises and associations. A stricter procedure has been formulated for the payment of fines and damages caused to the state. In order to put an end to a situation in which victimized enterprises are in no hurry to collect nonmandatory compensations, the law stipulates that a certain share of the unclaimed penalty may be levied. Furthermore, such "generosity" may entail a further fine. The fine is levied by decision of the arbitration authority, regardless of whether or not it has been claimed by the victim. The fines for the various types of violations may range from 10,000 to 1 million korunas. The experience in levying penalties acquired in the GDR and Hungary, the article stipulates, allows us to hold that such penalties will have a preventive effect above all.

The feature which links all the reviewed articles in this special issue is the effort to ensure further improvements in the planning system for economic management--the energizing of the human factor in the development of production and society as a whole. This is the specific topic of the article by J. Gandlirz, and I. Harvat, senior members of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions, "participation of the working people in the development of intensification factors." It analyzes the tasks of the trade union movement relative to the extensive development of the socialist

competition and other forms of creative and labor initiative aimed at upgrading production efficiency and quality.

In this connection the article deals extensively with problems of improving the practice of counterplanning, which is an efficient form of actual participation by the working people in production management, and the further strengthening of cost accounting, which plays an important role in upgrading socialist competition efficiency. The authors discuss the great deal which could be achieved in economic intensification by comprehensive rationalization brigades which would include workers, specialists, economic managers and clubs of frontranking workers and innovators' courses.

The political impact on economic processes, the lead article we mentioned emphasizes, requires the systematic enhancement of the quality and efficiency of organizational and ideological education work by the CzCP and all its organs and organizations, the development of interparty democracy and the strengthening of party discipline.

"The conversion of the Czechoslovak economy to primarily intensive development," the editors write in their address to the readership, "is a truly revolutionary task of the present, a question of strategic importance in the economic policy of the CzCP, our entire society and all working people." The purpose of the special issue was to draw the attention of the readers--the broad party and economic activists, lecturers, propagandists, and teachers and students in higher schools--to the basic, the decisive problems of the theory and practice of intensification and to contribute to their more profound interpretation. Unquestionably, the editors of NOVA MYSL, the theoretical and political journal of the CzCP Central Committee, have carried out their assignment successfully.

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CEMA POWER SUPPLY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 84 (signed to press 13 Aug 84) pp 75-86

[Article by Prof A. Zubkov, doctor of economic sciences]

[Text] The members of the socialist commonwealth entered the 1980s armed with an economic strategy based on a course of social production intensification. Requirements concerning the thrifty and efficient utilization of all resources, fuels and energy in particular, sharply increase under intensification conditions. The summit economic conference of CEMA member countries, which took place in Moscow in June 1984, noted that in order to be able to resolve the fuel-energy and raw material problems through national efforts and reciprocal cooperation, our countries "will implement a number of steps aimed above all at the economical and efficient utilization of energy sources and raw materials, lowering energy and material-intensiveness of output on the basis of the application of progressive technological processes, contemporary machinery and equipment and changing the structure of production and consumption of raw materials and energy carriers."

The further economic development of CEMA member countries will be paralleled by the expanded scale of fuel and energy consumption. However, intensive economic management will enable us to increase energy consumption at a slower pace compared with the past. In this connection, the conference stipulated that the CEMA members will also take corresponding steps to develop cooperation in the production and reciprocal procurements of fuel, energy and raw materials.

The conference resolved that a new step should be taken in intensifying the coordination of economic policy among the fraternal countries, which would include energy supplies as well. The CEMA members interested in Soviet fuel and energy deliveries will, within the framework of a coordinated economic policy, develop systematically and gradually their own production and export structures and take the necessary steps to this effect in the areas of capital investments and industrial reconstruction and rationalization with a view to supplying the Soviet Union with the goods it needs.

The implementation of the coordinated economic policy in energy supplies will make it possible to concentrate national and collective efforts on the comprehensive solution of this key economic problem.

For a long time the dynamic development of the national economies of CEMA member countries generated a fast growth of fuel and energy requirements. Between 1951 and 1983 power consumption in CEMA countries nearly quintupled. Alongside industry, agriculture, transportation, capital construction and the housing-communal and other areas became major energy consumers in the socialist countries.

At the beginning of the 1980s CEMA members' share of world consumption of energy resources reached approximately 25 percent, while their production represented almost 27 percent. This means that the CEMA members are fully satisfying their requirements for fuel and energy through domestic production and reciprocal procurements and exchanges with other countries.

National efforts and reciprocal cooperation have ensured most CEMA members a high level of energy consumption. Thus, in terms of per capita consumption it increased in the European CEMA countries (excluding the USSR) from an average of 1.8 tons of standard fuel in 1950 to 5.4 tons at the beginning of the 1980s. Today they either exceed the consumption of most developed capitalist countries or are on the same level in terms of this important indicator (with differences in the consumption structure of primary energy resources). In CEMA members such as Vietnam, Cuba and Mongolia specific power consumption is still relatively low but is showing a rising trend.

Over the past 10 to 15 years the economy of CEMA countries has been developing under worsened circumstances in terms of fuel and energy availability. In virtually all of these countries increased domestic production is taking place under worsening mining-geological conditions and increased use of low-caloric fuel resources; environmental protection outlays are increasing, and so on. In the USSR--the largest fuel exporter--the main extraction centers have shifted to the eastern and northern parts of the country. This has substantially increased investment outlays and current production and transportation costs. Furthermore, starting with the mid-1970s, the external conditions for importing fuel and energy by CEMA countries have changed and prices have risen substantially. However, contract prices for fuel and energy on the CEMA market remained below the prices on the capitalist market for a long period of time.

The energy situation worsened also because of the still not-entirely eliminated trend in a number of CEMA countries toward excessively high increase in the rate of consumption of energy resources compared to the development of domestic production. At the beginning of the 1980s, on an average the CEMA members (excluding the USSR) were able to meet between 70 and 75 percent of their need for energy from domestic sources.

The opposite trend was noted in the USSR: the production of power resources increased faster than consumption. This was dictated by the need to eliminate the shortage of energy resources experienced by a number of CEMA members and exports to other countries. As a result, whereas in 1960 the share of energy exports accounted for approximately 9 percent of energy production in the

USSR, the figure rose to more than 17 percent in 1982. Bearing in mind the tremendous and growing domestic consumption of fuel and energy, further maintaining and even accelerating the faster growth of their output and export becomes unjustified for a number of considerations. Let us note that only some of them, the main types of traditional fuel, petroleum in particular, increasingly used as raw material for the manufacturing of a number of commodities, are nonrecoverable; they are needed to maintain the activities not only of the present but future generations as well; such resources are our national wealth. They are also of most important international significance in strengthening and developing world socialism. Their thrifty utilization is necessary in the interests not only of the USSR but the entire socialist commonwealth.

The task of efficient utilization of energy resources has been kept in sight by state and economic organs of CEMA members in the past as well. During the 1960s, however, and during most of the 1970s its solution was not considered of prime, vital significance. The relatively low cost of extraction of energy resources and their accessibility on the CEMA markets did not stimulate the thrifty utilization of fuel and energy. By the end of the 1970s the average energy intensiveness per unit of national income in CEMA members was approximately 50 percent higher than the specific energy intensiveness of the national income of Common Market countries.

CEMA members have major reserves for improving their efficient utilization of fuel and energy. Under contemporary conditions and within the foreseeable future such reserves are found in energy-conserving methods, mainly in resolving fuel-energy problems. Along with other circumstances, the further economic progress achieved by the fraternal countries is defined above all by increasing the efficiency with which fuel and energy are used and only after that the increased consumption of energy resources.

The expectations for Bulgaria are that the implementation of the national program for the development of the power industry and the efficient utilization of resources in 1981-1985 and through 1990 will enable the country to save on power resources on an annual basis several million tons of standard fuel. This result may be achieved through efforts made at different economic management levels in the structural and technological advancements of the production process.

Substantial results in the implementation of the state program for energy savings were achieved by Hungary between 1981 and 1983. In that country increased production took place with an absolute drop in the consumption of power resources compared to 1980.

In the GDR 80 percent of increased material production in the 1980s must be achieved by reducing specific fuel and energy outlays. An economy of such outlays of nearly 20 million tons of standard fuel is planned from 1981 to 1985. The country's 1983 national income was 4.4 percent higher than in 1982 with increases in the amount of fuel and energy consumption and while reducing specific outlays of the most important types of energy carriers and raw and other materials by 7 percent.

Poland has adopted a comprehensive program through 1990, which calls for increased efficiency in the utilization of liquid fuels and motor lubricants. In 1983 coal deliveries to the national economy declined by 2.9 percent while export deliveries increased by 21 percent compared with 1982. The requirements of the Polish economy for this type of fuel were satisfied in full.

Romania has set itself the task of saving annually more than 3 million tons of standard fuel by the end of the five-year plan (1981-1985) by expanding the combined production of fuel and electric power and developing a heat-generating network. As a result of lowering norms of outlay of fuel-energy and other resources in industry 7 billion lei were saved in 1983, or more than 1 percent of the country's national income.

In Czechoslovakia, by the end of the current five-year plan the average annual conservation of power resources should equal a minimum of 2 percent. In 1983, 2.5 million tons of standard fuel were saved within the framework of the state target program for the efficient utilization of fuel and energy in all economic sectors.

The 1981-1985 plan for the economic and social development of the Soviet Union stipulates that, compared with 1980, by 1985 approximately 200 million tons of ordinary fuel in fuel-energy resources must be saved compared with 1980. Ministries, departments and union republics have been issued specific assignments on the conservation of fuel and electric and thermal energy and the utilization of secondary energy resources. The USSR Energy Program stipulates a drop in the specific energy-intensiveness of the national income by 12-17 percent by the year 2000 as a result of active energy conservation policy.

In Cuba up to 100,000 tons of fuel oil were saved in the 1981-1982 sugar cane campaign. Many sugar refineries almost totally eliminated its use for energy purposes, replacing it with bagaso, the sugar cane husks.

Compared to 1980, by 1985 Mongolia is planning to reduce specific liquid fuel outlays by an average of 4 percent for motor vehicle and air transportation and by 5 percent in agriculture and to lower specific coal outlays for electric power and heat production by 5-6 percent.

The efforts to upgrade the efficient utilization of energy resources are backed with the allocation of substantial funds. To this effect Hungary plans to use 30 million forints in capital investments between 1981 and 1985, while Czechoslovakia has appropriated 20 billion korunas for the purpose. The effectiveness of investments ensuring the rational utilization of fuel and energy by far exceeds outlays for increased acquisition of additional energy resources. Thus, in the GDR outlays for the rational utilization of energy will range from one-third to one-half of expenditures required for increasing the volume of consumed energy resources.

CEMA members are ensuring their energy conservation approach through the introduction of new norms, limiting outlays, applying stricter economic

penalties, increasing wholesale prices and making use of other economic levers.

Thus, a procedure is in place in Hungary according to which automotive transportation enterprises must automatically pay out of their profits substantial fines for empty truck runs over and above specific distances automatically, without any claims to be filed by the appropriate organizations. The fine of any enterprise which avoids its payment is increased tenfold. The GDR has formulated and enacted standards for hundreds of new power consumption norms. For example, evaporator energy outlays will be reduced by 14-35 percent and in drying systems in ceramic and baking production facilities by 15-17 percent. Energy outlay ceilings and penalties have been introduced according to which consumers will pay for energy overruns in multiple amounts. Czechoslovakia has set a standard for street lighting according to which street lights in settlements with over 10,000 people will be modernized. Other steps are also being taken in this area.

The revision of wholesale fuel and energy prices is forcing the economic organizations to rationalize their consumption. Prices of imported energy are rising higher than those of domestic fuels, which encourages the primary utilization of the latter. The results of fuel and energy conservation are being linked to economic incentive more firmly. In the GDR, for example, 40 percent of the cost of saved energy is deposited into the enterprise social development fund.

The struggle against negligence and waste in the use of energy resources is directed above all toward the utilization of "surface" reserves. This includes temperature differences in premises, depending on their purpose, regulating street and road lighting, encouraging housing-communal facilities to use energy during periods of minimal power grid loads, changing worker shifts at enterprises for the same purposes, etc. In transportation the use of worn-out trucks using high amounts of fuel is being reduced. The multiple-shift work of economical motor vehicles is being introduced, the fleet of official passenger cars is being reduced, norms governing their runs and time of utilization are being set and maximal traffic speeds are being lowered.

The CEMA members increased the number of such measures during the 1970s and developed them extensively at the beginning of the 1980s. Such steps do not require significant capital investments but yield substantial economic results. It is also obvious that their most substantial results occur at the initial stages in their existence. Their effect subsequently declines, for in fact they have an insignificant effect on the technological foundations of the production process. Nevertheless, the most important national economic significance of this means of saving on energy resources is unquestionable. The exchange of experience in its implementation is of great value to all CEMA members

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The use of energy-conserving equipment and technologies and the technical retooling of the national economy is another direction in the conservation and improved efficiency in the utilization of energy resources.

In the CEMA member countries up to 50-60 percent of energy resources are used in industry. It is precisely here that the main reserves lie. However, their utilization is possible only through scientific and technical progress. The overall efficiency of the utilization of fuel and energy resources in the fraternal countries' industry is still below 25-30 percent. Reducing specific fuel, energy and electric power outlays in the production of a number of varieties of nonferrous and ferrous metals, a number of chemical production facilities and the construction materials industry is particularly relevant.

The use of power units generating up to 300,000-1 million kilowatts at thermoelectric power plants in CEMA countries and the further concentration of the production of electric power at major plants will substantially lower specific fuel outlays per kilowatt hour. Steam-gas turbine systems, which raise the efficiency of thermoelectric power plants from 30-40 to 50-60 percent, will be built, thus saving huge amounts of fuel.

Technological modernization of metallurgical facilities will make it possible to lower energy-intensiveness in metal smelting by 25-30 percent. Approximately similar savings in energy resources may be achieved in the construction materials industry, particularly in the production of glass and cement through the extensive application of already developed and industrially tested prototypes of technological equipment in CEMA member countries.

This method is incomparably more capital-intensive than the use of organizational measures which, figuratively speaking, will peel off the upper layers only. It requires more time as well. However, it is obvious that it is precisely in this area that maximal results could be expected. Also important is the fact that it is precisely along this way that opportunities will be expanded and new possibilities developed of interaction among CEMA member countries in scientific research and experimental design and in the production of energy and fuel conservation equipment, making use of the advantages of international specialization and cooperation and the coordinated reequipping of power-consuming sectors with progressive equipment and technologies.

Significant experience in the joint solution of such problems has been acquired in a number of areas. Thus, in 1972 an agreement, subsequently extended to 1981 to 1985, was initialed among Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia on developing highly efficient methods for the utilization of natural gas for fuel and the development of gas-utilizing equipment. In the course of such cooperation the latest type burners for metallurgical and glass-making furnaces, speed and radiation burners and a number of other systems were developed and applied, which enable us to conserve from 6-8 to 10-15 percent fuel in the various processes. Savings from the application of such developments by CEMA member countries are assessed at several tens of millions of rubles. However, the results could have been far better had cooperation in this field been extended to the development of efficient systems for other gas-consuming production facilities as well, by accelerating the research and development process and developing the production of designed systems on a large scale within the framework of international specialization and cooperation.

The interaction among the fraternal countries offers new and extensive opportunities for resolving the energy supply problem. This is clearly demonstrated by the long-term target program for cooperation in the fields of energy, fuel and raw materials. The CEMA authorities pay increasing attention to the economical utilization of energy resources.

For example, the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in Planning Activities drafted a consolidated report on upgrading the level of utilization of secondary energy resources in industry. According to its forecasts, their utilization by the European CEMA members will ensure savings of approximately 100 million tons of regular fuel in 1985 and about 120 million tons by 1990 (compared to nearly 80 million tons in 1980). However, this requires the faster development of cooperation in the production of fuel-utilizing and heat exchange equipment.

The CEMA Committee for Scientific and Technical Cooperation stipulates the formulating of technical solutions for the efficient utilization of fuel and energy in furnaces, boilers, dryers and heat exchange equipment. Uniform norms will be drafted on fuel and energy outlays for energy-intensive equipment; the systems for controlling energy consumption in technological processes will be improved, etc.

All permanent CEMA sectorial commissions are studying possibilities of upgrading the efficiency of fuel and energy utilization. The CEMA Committee for Cooperation in Material and Technical Procurements is coordinating the work of all CEMA organs in this direction and is formulating corresponding recommendations on its own.

The scientific and technical potential of CEMA members enables us substantially to expand the industrial and technological retooling of the national economy with a view to lowering industrial energy consumption. It is equally important to accelerate the application of already existing developments. To this effect we must accelerate the formulation, conclusion and implementation of agreements on the production of the necessary machines, equipment, systems and instruments. In a number of cases their specialized output could be developed with capacities available in CEMA members by terminating the production of obsolete models. In other cases the coordinated development of additional capacities will become necessary.

Improving the public production structure was indicated at the economic conference as one of the most important tasks of CEMA members in economics and reciprocal cooperation at the present stage. This is one of the main factors in upgrading efficiency and accelerating the conversion of the economy to intensive development. The structure reorganization of the economy of the socialist countries, of fuel and energy importers in particular, offers, among other things, extensive opportunities for the economical and efficient utilization of energy resources. The national economic complexes of most of these countries developed as multisectorial in the course of the decades of their organization, including a number of high energy-consuming production facilities (chemical, metallurgical and others). In the period of inexpensive fuel and raw materials, this was justified in the majority of cases. Under

the new circumstances, such developments burdened the economy, reduced its efficiency and increased the foreign debts of a number of CEMA members. It has become objectively necessary to develop more cautiously energy-intensive production facilities and to engage in structural changes in the economy, taking the new energy situation into consideration. Such restructuring can be accomplished by using the opportunities provided by the further intensification of the international socialist division of labor and the development of joint planning activities among CEMA members.

The socialist countries have acquired extensive experience in the coordinated and interrelated development of their production structures, which can be successfully used under the new circumstances as well. Indicative in this respect, for example, is the cooperation between the USSR and Hungary in the development of an aluminum industry, which was initiated in the 1960s and is continuing today increasingly: within that period Hungary increased the extraction of bauxites and the production of alumina, whereas, on the basis of Hungarian alumina procurements, the USSR increased its production of aluminum and its exports to Hungary. The long-term fuel-raw material cooperation program of CEMA member countries calls for locating production facilities for high energy-intensive chemical output in the USSR and low-intensive chemical output in the other socialist countries, with a view to reciprocal exchanges.

Structural reorganizations, in industry above all, are essentially related to changes in intrasectorial ratios and varieties of goods produced in the individual sectors; subsequently, however, they could affect intersectorial ratios as well. In accordance with the new energy situation, a number of CEMA members are beginning to adopt their economic structures to the changing conditions of imported fuels and energy.

For example, Hungary is planning internal production structural changes which will conserve fuel and energy. In the GDR, a substantial portion of investments are concentrated in areas of particular importance in the development of a highly efficient industrial structure (microelectronics, robot manufacturing, electronic machine building, etc. Romania is lowering the growth rates of a number of fuel and energy-intensive production facilities in the metallurgical, chemical and other sectors.

Naturally restricting the development of energy-intensive production does not eliminate the need for increased output. For example, the need for grade steel, including electrosteel, and light nonferrous metals, aluminum in particular, will continue to increase. However, international concentration enables us to make fuller use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the possibilities of division of labor in lowering specific fuel and energy outlays even in relatively high energy-intensive industries.

The program for the coordination of national economic plans by the socialist countries for 1986-1990, which was passed at the 36th CEMA session (1982) calls for directing their interaction toward ensuring on a long-term basis the substantiated and rational needs of their national economies with energy, fuel and others types of output and accelerating the process of structural changes in the economy through the utilization of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

Along with the increased efficiency and economical utilization of fuel and energy, the economic growth of CEMA member countries will require further increases in their output and consumption. However, energy-conserving economic management will make it possible to develop their economies with a less intensive increase in the consumption of fuel and energy than in the recent past. Between 1961 and 1980, the CEMA countries' joint consumption of power resources per percentage of annual increase in the national income increased between 0.70 and 0.75 percent, while the overall annual growth rates in the consumption of prime energy resources amounted roughly to 4-4.5 percent. The efficient utilization of energy and fuel will enable them in the future to lower their increased consumption per percent of annual growth of the national income by up to 0.5-0.6 percent. In order to ensure an average annual economic growth of 3-4 percent, the CEMA member countries will have to increase their power consumption by 1.5-2.4 percent. Consequently, compared with the preceding 20 years, over the next 20-year period the consumption of energy resources will increase at a substantially slower rate. However, in absolute terms, based on UN classification, their absolute outlays will increase from 2.1 billion tons of standard fuel in 1980 to approximately 2.9-3.4 billion by the year 2000.

The increased consumption of energy resources will be ensured in most CEMA countries first of all by preventing a further lowering of the share of domestic production of fuel and energy in their national consumption and, in some countries, even by increasing the share of domestic production; secondly, this will be achieved in all CEMA member countries as a result of efficient changes in the structure of their energy balance. These trends will continue to be combined with the development of reciprocal cooperation among CEMA members and their participation in the international division of labor.

The socialist countries are actively interacting in the development of the nuclear power industry, which is the most important trend in the growth of their fuel and energy resources. In 1979 they signed an agreement on the production of equipment for nuclear power plants, based on international production specialization and cooperation. By the end of 1983 installed nuclear power production capacities in CEMA member countries, including the USSR, will total 25 million kilowatts; it will rise to about 100 million kilowatts by 1990, which is the equivalent of saving roughly 200 million tons of regular fuel annually. Currently nuclear power plants are in operation in Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, USSR and Czechoslovakia. Preparatory operations are under way for the construction of nuclear electric power plants in Cuba, Poland and Romania. The construction of nuclear thermoelectric power plants and nuclear-powered boilers will be developed which will produce steam for industrial and house heating requirements.

The concept for the development of a nuclear power industry and for cooperation in that area, adopted by the CEMA members, calls for the utilization of reactors of increased unit capacity for the generation of heat neutrons with subsequent conversion to fast neutron reactors. In the future controlled thermonuclear synthesis will be adopted as the energy production

method unrestricted by resource limitations. The USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Romania and Czechoslovakia are cooperating within the program through 1990 they adopted for studying problems of thermonuclear synthesis. The result of such interaction will be the formulation of long-term projects for a thermonuclear reactor based on a TOCAMA-type system.

The construction of large nuclear power plants through joint efforts is one of the forms of multilateral cooperation in the field of nuclear power industry. Two such plants--the Khmel'nitskiy and the South Ukrainian--are being equipped on Soviet territory. By 1990 the electric power they could supply to the other CEMA members could reach 20-22 billion kilowatt-hours per year. In accordance with the economic conference resolutions, the CEMA members are jointly working on programs for the construction of nuclear electric power plants and nuclear heat supply stations through the year 2000.

The interested countries are installing power transmission cables of 750,000 volts between the Khmel'nitskiy nuclear power plant (USSR) and Zheshev (Poland). This will be a second such power cable, after the jointly completed Vinnitsa (USSR)-Albertirsa cable (Hungary). An agreement has been concluded for the building of a similar cable linking the South Ukrainian nuclear power plant (USSR) with Isakcea (Romania)-Dobrudzha (Bulgaria). These and other power cables, the construction of which has been planned, will enhance the reliability of the work of the joint power systems of CEMA members, create conditions for the fullest possible utilization of the intersystem effect and increase the amount of Soviet electric power deliveries.

Production of electric power by thermoelectric power plants is being developed further. The new capacities installed at such plants by the European CEMA members are directed toward the essential utilization of domestic solid fuel; the existing power plants using liquid fuel are systematically replacing it with extracted coal and lignite. Cooperation in the production of energy and ore-mining equipment helps to develop the thermoelectric power industry in CEMA countries. In particular, specialization and cooperation will be developed more extensively for the production of highly efficient steam boilers for various purposes. The use of powerful automated turbines will be increased; the production of modern rotary excavators, dumping, multiple-bucket and single-bucket excavators, draglines and other equipment will be increased.

The increased extraction of coal and lignite requires bigger investments. Thus, in the GDR specific capital investments in the coal mining industry will more than double during the 1980s compared with the 1960s. It is important, therefore, to ensure maximal efficiency by concentrating coal extraction at the most suitable deposits and eliminating fuel losses in coal extraction, transportation and consumption. In this connection, possibilities are under study of concentrating investments on increasing coal extraction in Polish, Bulgarian and Mongolian deposits and their deliveries to interested CEMA countries. Equally expedient could be the joint development of systems for the efficient development and location of coal industries in CEMA countries on a long-term basis.

The various forms of activities of international economic organizations set up by the socialist countries are mutually profitable. Thus, as a result of operations on Polish territory of the Haldex Joint Hungarian-Polish Company, coal-containing dumps which had developed in Silesia for over a century were eliminated and many millions of tons of high-quality coal and construction materials were obtained from the reprocessed rocks. The coal extracted by Haldex from such dumps is shipped to Poland and Hungary. The Haldex-Ostrava Joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian Enterprise was set up to process the coal dumps in the Ostrava-Karvin basin. Both enterprises are using efficient Hungarian dump-processing equipment.

The experience of Haldex's activities and of the joint enterprises set up in other production areas deserves more extensive dissemination in the practice of interaction among CEMA members, including the USSR. This is an efficient form of cooperation in the creation and exploitation in the USSR by interested CEMA members of capacities for the production of various types of fuels and energy (electric power, for example) as well as energy-intensive industries (aluminum, electrosteel, chemical). The contribution of the individual countries to the establishment of the productive and working capital for such organizations is proportional to the share of their output. The activities of such organizations are based on cost accounting, as a result of which, as a rule, self-financing can be used in their operation and remaining profits are distributed among the participating countries.

The CEMA members intend comprehensively to increase the utilization of their hydraulic power resources. During the 1980s, with the participation of a number of CEMA members, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia are planning the construction of new large hydroelectric power plants on the Danube River. Hydraulic power storing plants will be given priority in such construction. Let us point out that the share of all such plants remains low in the utilization of the hydraulic power potential of CEMA members compared to a number of Western European countries. The elimination of this gap and the increased efficiency in the utilization of hydraulic power resources will be achieved by intensifying cooperation in the production of the necessary equipment and the construction of such systems. In a number of European CEMA countries the construction of small or microhydroelectric power plants will be developed. This trend may be intensified with the further development of the production of equipment for small hydroelectric power plants. The exchange of experience in developing small rivers and the division of labor in the production of various types of equipment for such purposes are important.

The worldwide trend of stabilizing and, subsequently, reducing the share of petroleum in the consumption structure of prime energy resources may be noted in CEMA member countries as well. Growing production outlays and petroleum purchases and the increased cost of petroleum as a raw material for chemicals and engine fuel require the increased production of light petroleum fractions and a reduction in the share of the production and, respectively, consumption of fuel oil as boiler fuel. With the existing structure of petroleum and petroleum product consumption in the USSR and the other CEMA members, 2-2.5 tons of petroleum must be refined per ton of motor fuel, whereas contemporary extensive petroleum processing methods enable us to use no more than 1.3 tons.

In accordance with the agreement on specialization and cooperation in the production of progressive types of comprehensive equipment for extensive petroleum refining, the CEMA members are planning the manufacturing of corresponding systems of high overall capacity between 1981 and 1990. Cooperation in the production of equipment for petroleum processing based on the latest technologies (catalytic cracking, hydraulic cracking, etc.) is particularly important. Also promising is cooperation in increasing the capacity of enterprises for regeneration of lubricants and the utilization of some other products of petroleum processing.

The CEMA members are expanding their geological survey and cooperation efforts in this area. Thus, the Petrobaltik organization, jointly established by the GDR, Poland and the USSR, is engaged in surveys for petroleum and natural gas on the shelf of the Baltic Sea within the territorial waters of these countries. Petroleum has been obtained from a few wells within Polish territorial waters. Based on an agreement between the USSR and Romania, joint geological surveys for petroleum and gas are under way on the continental shelf of Vietnam. Further detailed studies and surveys must be made on the continental shelves of Cuba, Bulgaria and Romania.

The use of new petroleum extraction methods is of major importance. So far petroleum extraction from deposits in CEMA countries, including the USSR, does not exceed 40 percent. Global experience proves that this indicator could be raised to 55-60 percent. Cooperation among CEMA countries in intensifying the utilization of petroleum deposits should follow several directions. For example, the specialized development of the production of chemical agents needed to this effect, reciprocal deliveries of the same, exchange of progressive experience in developing resources, and so on, could be of mutual interest. It would be equally expedient to study possibilities of utilizing various forms of joint scientific and technical and production activities (international scientific-production associations, joint companies, etc.) for the fuller and more efficient development of petroleum deposits considered exhausted with traditional extraction methods. One target for cooperation could also be the further development of specialized production of equipment needed to eliminate losses of liquid byproducts in gas deposits, byproducts which are valuable raw materials for the chemical industry and can be used as highly caloric fuel.

Liquid fuel resources could be expanded by extracting it from coal, lignite and shale, extensive reserves of which may be found in a number of CEMA countries. Bilateral agreements are being implemented between the USSR and the GDR and the USSR and Poland on interaction in studying methods for extracting liquid and gaseous fuel from coal. This five-year plan the USSR will commission an experimental liquifaction system with a capacity of 7-10 tons of coal per day by the Novomoskovskugol' Association. This will be followed by the development of technical blueprints for the construction of an enterprise. The accelerated testing of new equipment for designing and building the initial industrial capacities for coal liquifaction will remain topical in terms of supplying the socialist countries with energy even though of late the level of world petroleum prices has stabilized.

Participation in increasing the extraction and transportation of West Siberian natural gas may be of substantial importance in adding to the energy resources of the socialist countries. The energy program of the USSR calls for the possible participation of such countries in building the gas main between Yamal and the western border of the USSR. In this case a study should be made of the various forms of such cooperation, including the construction and utilization of said gas pipeline as an international specialized joint transport main serving interested CEMA members.

It is expected that in 1985 the effect of the use of nontraditional renewable energy resources by CEMA members (solar, wind and geothermal energy and agricultural, forestry and household waste) will be the equivalent of about 2 million tons of standard fuel. Such results may increase substantially in the future. Taking into consideration the importance of the use of nontraditional resources and the need for scientific and technical and production interaction in this area, the CEMA bodies have drafted a corresponding program for multilateral cooperation.

With the exception of the USSR, the growing energy needs of virtually all CEMA members are met by increasing domestic production of fuel and energy and imports. The Soviet Union remains the main exporter of such items to CEMA countries. The volume of Soviet procurements to such countries increased as follows between 1951-1955 and 1976-1980: petroleum, from 6.2 million to 378 million tons; petroleum products, from 2.7 million to 52 million tons; natural gas, from 0.6 billion to 94 billion cubic meters; and electric power, from 10.5 million to 64 billion kilowatt hours. Within that period deliveries of coal and anthracite increased approximately tenfold and exports of other fuel and energy sources rose significantly.

Between 1981 and 1983 the USSR supplied the CEMA countries with 263 million tons of petroleum and petroleum products, 91 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 54 billion kilowatt hours of electric energy and a large number of other energy carriers. The CEMA member countries have met their import needs out of Soviet supplies by nearly 80 percent for petroleum and petroleum products and 99 percent for natural gas.

Until recently the growth of Soviet deliveries of fuel and energy to CEMA members substantially exceeded the dynamics of development of their output in the USSR. Naturally, this trend cannot develop indefinitely. The need arose for closer interconnection between the exports of energy resources and their production and consumption in the country starting with the 1980s. For that reason the dynamics of Soviet procurements of fuel and energy to CEMA countries has undergone changes. Whereas between 1976 and 1980 the export of energy resources from the USSR to CEMA countries had increased by 47 percent compared with the preceding 5-year period, between 1981 and 1985 it will have increased by 20 percent compared to the 1976-1980 period. This five-year plan deliveries of natural gas and electric power will increase quite significantly.

As we pointed out, the summit economic conference of CEMA members indicated the need for the establishment of economic conditions which will ensure continuing supplies of energy from the USSR. This, in particular, is a

question of deliveries to the Soviet Union of comestible and industrial consumer goods, some types of construction materials and high-quality world-standard machines and equipment in exchange for Soviet raw materials and fuels.

The CEMA members are not developing separately from the world's economy but are interrelated with it. As in other economic areas, in the power industry as well they are participating in the global division of labor. The Soviet Union is a major exporter of fuel and energy to the capitalist countries and a number of CEMA countries are importing limited amounts of petroleum from the developing states. In the course of economic growth and socialist economic integration, the CEMA members will be able to increase their imports of fuel from the developing countries and to increase their exports of finished goods to the same countries to the extent to which this would be mutually profitable. The socialist countries are always ready to engage in the further expansion of cooperation in fuel and energy trade with the developed capitalist countries as well.

The summit economic conference among CEMA members formulated essential stipulations relative to resolving the fuel-energy problem. Their implementation requires the formulation of a set of joint measures. One of them should lead toward interaction in ensuring energy-saving developments; others should lead to cooperation in adding to the energy resources by increasing their domestic production and reciprocal procurements. The efficiency of such measures could be substantially upgraded through the use of progressive methods of scientific-technical and production interaction and by improving the mechanism of cooperation along directions stipulated at the economic conference.

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KOMMUNIST ON PEACE MOVEMENT IN WEST, EAST

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[Article by V. Orel: "The Antiwar Movement: Achievements and Prospects"]

[Text] The antiwar and antimilitarist movement is entering a new stage of its development. The antimissile demonstrations, unprecedented by their mass character and intensity, which swept through many countries of the world during the "hot fall" of 1983 represented a culmination in asserting the mass peace movement as an important new political factor in international relations and an essential element in the internal political life of a majority of Western states. The significance of this fact cannot be underestimated in any way because, for all that, the movement has failed to prevent the beginning of new American nuclear missile deployment in Europe.

Of course, the beginning of these missiles' deployment could not fail to have an effect on the participants of antimissile actions, whose demands were not taken into consideration even though they most certainly did not represent a mere "noisy minority" as the official propaganda tried to present them. The public opinion polls in all five West European "missiles" countries, Britain, the FRG, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, steadily showed that a considerable majority of the population opposed the new missiles. "Never before has the gap between the will of a majority of people on one hand, and the arbitrary decision of the ruling minority on the other, been as deep as it was over the missile issue," Comrade H. Miles, chairman of the German Communist Party, appraised the situation.

A feeling of confusion and even despair began to appear among some of the less politically hardened participants of the movement and this feeling pushed some of them to extremist actions or, on the contrary, to abandoning the active antiwar struggle. For their part, the NATO leaders, primarily in the United States and in the countries where the deployment of missiles had already begun, hastened to proclaim the "defeat" of the antiwar movement. However, as early as February 1984, the British journal ECONOMIST made a far more sober conclusion corresponding to reality: "It is a mistake to think that the movement has abandoned its position. It has quieted down to take a breath and rethink its role."

I

For that matter, it would be possible to speak about a defeat of the struggle for peace only if a nuclear war had already broken out in spite of it.

However, in that event there would of course be no chance to speak about that or about anything else...

Quite a different matter is the peace movement's ability to produce results, and in this connection there are quite a few things to dwell on. The question can be posed, and often is posed, in the following way: Has the peace movement achieved anything real considering that the arms race continues and that the threat of war has not diminished but has even increased?

It is true that the threat of nuclear war has not been eliminated. In the existing situation, the peace-loving forces still have no possibility of decisively and irreversibly tipping the scale to their side. However, the forces of war, too, cannot act without control and be guided by their own aspirations. War has ceased to be fatally inevitable. This fact, too, shows a real effect of the mass peace movement.

Just like any other social movement, the antiwar movement is also marked by oscillating and wave-like development and by periodic ebbs and flows. Several waves marking the period of special mass activities in the cause of the defense of peace have been observed in the postwar period.

The first of these waves rose at the beginning of the 1950s and was mainly provoked by the first realization of the appearance of a new and unprecedented danger to man presented by the nuclear weapon in the hands of the aggressive militarist forces of imperialism. It was on the crest of this wave that the first organized worldwide movement of Fighters for Peace was formed and the World Peace Council (WPC) was founded. Large mass antiwar campaigns carried out by this movement, such as the collection of signatures for the Stockholm appeal to ban nuclear weapons (in 1950), the appeal to conclude a peace treaty among the five big powers (in 1951) and the Vienna appeal against preparations for nuclear war (in 1955) have become a part of history. Hundreds of millions of people signed these documents expressing their will to prevent a new war conflagration. The rise of the antiwar and antinuclear feelings among broad masses of people played a definite role in the fact that the United States refrained from using nuclear weapons in the Korean War and was forced to refrain from carrying out its virtually formulated plans for a nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

The second mighty wave of antiwar actions rolled up in the 1960s and was a result of the mass protests against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam. The fighters for peace throughout the world made a considerable contribution to the cause of assisting the victory of the Vietnamese people by contributing to the shameful failure of this adventure of the American military. The public peace movement also played a major constructive role in producing a detente in international relations in the 1970s.

Finally, the third wave of the antiwar movement, which was the most powerful in the entire postwar period, began to rise toward the end of the 1970s as a reaction by people to the abrupt shift in the U.S. and NATO policies toward a sharp increase in armaments and away from detente and a return to the orientation to force and confrontation in world affairs. The antiwar actions reached a particularly intensive level during the struggle against the deployment of new American nuclear missiles in Europe.

Speaking about the recent rise of the antiwar movement in the West, it is necessary to take into consideration, among other things, such a completely understandable reason as the appearance of a natural instinct of self-preservation among the popular masses, an instinct that has been sharpened in many ways under the conditions of a colossal stockpiling of mass destruction weapons in the world.

A noticeable change has taken place, especially in American mass awareness which, for many decades, had been characterized by a solidly rooted feeling of security in the face of armed conflicts taking place "somewhere else in the world." The "average American" suddenly and for the first time realized that, should nuclear war break out, it would inevitably fall down on the territory of his country. This was a shock that provoked fear; fear for one's home, for one's family and one's comfort and finally simply for one's life which, as it turns out, can no longer be protected either by oceans or by military might. Many West Europeans have experienced an equally great shock. There, secret hopes that a conflict would assume the form of a duel between the two great nuclear powers which would supposedly "carry out an exchange" with intercontinental missiles over the heads of Europeans were rudely dashed by their own allies on the other side of the ocean.

What is important is the fact that the fear of nuclear war has not paralyzed the will, but compelled many citizens of Western countries who had never given any thought to "big politics," to join the ranks of the antiwar movement. What happened was precisely something to which Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, called attention when he pointed out that the greater the threat to mankind's civilization from the imperialist policy of constantly exacerbating tension, "the more active the forces of self-preservation of mankind will become."

As has already been noted, in the postwar period, there have been quite a few situations in which the peace movement actively contributed to diffusing intensified military threats and compelled aggressive forces to change their policy. For instance, Comrade J. Jensen, chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, summed up the influence of the peace movement on the policy of his country in the following way: "In Denmark, we have been unable to prevent the inclusion of the country in the North Atlantic bloc. We have not been able to stop Denmark's participation in the adoption of the NATO decisions that were contrary to the interests of peace and our national interests. But the peace movement has prevented the deployment of foreign troops, limited the construction of military bases and prevented the appearance of nuclear weapons on Danish soil." To this can be added the Danish Parliament's decision to refuse to participate in financing the program of deployment of American missiles in Western Europe.

The development of events now demonstrates two elements of principled importance. First, despite the prophecies of NATO propaganda, the antiwar movement has not died down by far and it has not lost its mass character. Following a certain period of "winter reflection" caused by a reinterpretation of the new conditions resulting from the beginning of the deployment of American missiles in Europe, the spring and summer of this year have again been marked by a rise of mass peace actions.

Second, the main slogans under which the mass peace actions have been and continue to be carried out this year show that, as far as the antiwar movement is concerned, the "missile issue" has by no means been closed and that the movement has not reconciled itself to the beginning of the "post-Pershing era." To prevent any further deployment of new American first-strike missiles in Europe and obtain the withdrawal of the missiles already deployed, to restore the situation that existed in the West and East of the continent prior to the beginning of their installation and to create the necessary conditions for negotiations on limiting and reducing nuclear weapons in Europe--this is the action platform worked out by the presidium of the World Peace Council at its extraordinary session in West Berlin in January 1984. These are also the tasks formulated by the participants of the Conference for Nuclear-Free Europe held in Athens in February 1984.

During the "spring action" which traditionally begins at Easter time in many Western countries, many thousands of people took to the street with these same antimissile demands. Altogether, 87 percent of participants in the public referendum conducted by the peace movement in the FRG expressed themselves in favor of renouncing the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles on the territory of the Federal Republic and the withdrawal of missiles already deployed.

The deployment of American missiles in the FRG, Britain and Italy is certainly not progressing smoothly under the conditions of constant antimissile demonstrations, blockades of military installations and the use of force against the fighters for peace. In the FRG alone about 1,000 people were arrested during the blockade of the American military base in Mutlangen, where the first Pershing missiles were installed; the blockade began in October 1983. The actions of the Belgian public against the plans to install missiles on Belgian territory have not abated either. And in the Netherlands, the government, yielding to the strong pressure of antimissile opinion predominant among the country's population, has been forced to postpone the date of its final decision on the installation of missiles.

At the same time, there is a growing understanding in the antiwar movement that the American first-strike missiles in Europe represent an integral part of the global policy of "Reaganism" that constitutes a threat to the freedom and independence of many countries and peoples and leads to an intensification of the arms race and exacerbation of international tension. Many movements and organizations borne on the wave of the antimissile struggle are now setting broader tasks for themselves within the cause of eliminating the nuclear threat; these tasks include the demands for a freeze on nuclear weapons, the creation of nuclear-free zones, for abstention from first use of

nuclear weapons, a complete ban on nuclear weapons tests, the prevention of militarization of outer space and other demands. The antimissile slogans are more and more often linked with demands for work and for the solution of other acute socioeconomic problems that afflict the population masses of capitalist countries.

II

Today, the antiwar movement is developing on the basis of substantial and often quite deep changes that have occurred in the West's mass awareness in recent years and have enhanced the realization of the importance and necessity of the struggle to preserve peace and against the threat of nuclear war. The realization of the catastrophic consequences of such a war has never before been as widely spread among the masses of people as it is now. A very definite and consistently sharply negative attitude toward nuclear war, nuclear weapons and the arms race has been formulated in international public opinion, regardless of any statements about the need for "protecting freedom and democracy in the West" and for waging a "crusade" against communism that may be used as a screen for nuclear war, nuclear weapons and the arms race. The Leninist conclusion that the "aspiration for peace is one of the most important symptoms of an emerging disillusionment with the bourgeois lie about the 'liberating' goals of war" acquires a particularly current meaning in this connection (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 26, p 303).

An active influx of wide circles of intelligentsia into the ranks of the antiwar and antimissile movement has been one of the important results of the development of the movement in recent years. Being properly informed and knowledgeable, the intelligentsia has adopted a particularly sharp attitude toward the growing nuclear threat. This fact was particularly strikingly demonstrated by the International Meeting of Intelligentsia for Peace and Disarmament which was held in Paris in March 1984 at the initiative of the French antiwar organization, the Appeal of the 100.

The movement has been joined by new masses of scientists who, proceeding from objective scientific facts and independent of their ideological-political positions, have reached their common conclusion on the catastrophic consequences of the use of nuclear weapons. An unprecedented event in this connection was the meeting of presidents of nearly all of the world's national academies of sciences held in Rome in September 1982 at the initiative of the Papal Academy of Sciences, which issued a joint "Declaration on Preventing Nuclear War." In the declaration, the most authoritative representatives of contemporary science categorically declare that science can offer the world no real protection against the consequences of war.

A specific international movement, the "Physicians of the World for Preventing Nuclear War," has been formed and, in June 1984, held its fourth congress in Helsinki. More than 100,000 physicians from many countries of the world have already joined this movement, which has also declared equally authoritatively that medicine would be helpless after a nuclear conflict. Various other movements have appeared, uniting cultural workers, sportsmen and

representatives of other groups and they also exercise a serious influence on the formation of public opinion.

It can be said that the mass participation of young people in the struggle for peace is especially portentous for the present stage of the struggle. The present younger generation can properly be called an antiwar generation. And there is no need for any special efforts to prove that the participation of hundreds of thousands of young men and women in the antiwar actions, which have frequently involved direct clashes with the police and army detachments, represent an invaluable practical school of political education of the contemporary younger generation. And this, as one says, is a very promising "work done in anticipation" of the near future, something that has been concretely confirmed by the ardor with which the youth organizations of various countries have approached the preparations for the 12th World Youth and Student Festival to be held in Moscow in 1985.

The unprecedented participation of women in the peace movement has introduced a specific new feature to contemporary public life in the West. Unlike in the past when the activities of women were often channeled predominantly to feminist issues, women are now more and more resolutely rising in defense of the most important thing of all, human life. The legendary camp of women around the British military base at Greenham Common, where the first American cruise missiles were installed, has become a symbol of courage and steadfastness.

The problem of war and peace has assumed such an acute character that it has affected even the elite of the bourgeois society, that is, those conservative circles that have always regarded peace slogans as "Red intrigues" aimed at undermining the foundations of the capitalist society. The active participation of a number of the former highest military leaders of NATO countries in the antiwar movement, leading to the formation of the international movement of "Generals for Peace and Disarmament" is most indicative in this respect.

The church, too, that is, the very church that has customarily consecrated all the past bourgeois bloody campaigns in God's name, as well as the wars unleashed by it, could not but lend its ear to the mood of its flock. The move of the church in several Western countries to the field of peace-promoting activities has made a serious contribution to spreading and activating the antiwar movement, especially in those countries where believers represent a significant part of the population.

However, the increasingly wider and more active participation of the organized workers class in the antiwar struggle, that is, the class that, for a long time and in considerable numbers, showed a certain passivity, mainly through the fault of the right-wing trade union leaders, represents the most important result of the development of the antimissile movement in recent years from the viewpoint of its future prospects.

The political peace strikes held in several West European countries last year and this year have provided very important evidence of a changing situation. The main reserve for increasing the ability of the struggle for peace to

produce results lies precisely in a combination of workers and antiwar movements.

According to the views expressed among the movement's circles, a reassuring element in this connection is a serious evolution that has taken place among the Social Democrats, whose leaders only recently stood completely at the position of supporting the "cold war" and the arms race. It is a characteristic fact that among the five West European countries designated for the deployment of American missiles, it is only in Italy that the Socialist Party supports the deployment of these missiles.

True, we should not overlook the fact that the leaderships of the social democratic parties very often try to use the mass peace movement for their current, narrow party ends, orienting themselves mainly to capturing votes in the next elections. What attracts attention in this respect is the difference that continues to appear in the positions on topical problems of war and peace, the differences in the positions of these parties when they are in power and when they are in opposition. Thus, for instance, when they were in power in their countries in 1979, the German Social Democratic Party and the Labor Party of Great Britain voted in favor of the NATO "missile decision," but now, finding themselves in opposition, they actively oppose the missiles. The opposite can be observed in France, Spain and Portugal.

Finally, the peace movement proper has experienced a further development in the past years. Various new organizations, coalitions and movements have been formed that include certain strata or groups of people who had previously kept a great distance from antiwar activities. New cadres of leaders, organizers and activists of the movement have appeared who have succeeded in acquiring considerable practical experience in a short time.

Therefore, summing up the past stage of the antimissile struggle, it is possible to conclude that, although the antiwar movement has not been able to prevent the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe, this struggle has been instrumental in bringing about profound changes in the views and moods of virtually all strata of Western society in relation to such most important issues as the intensification of the threat of nuclear war, the NATO policy and the actions of Western governments in this connection.

III

Representatives of many and various political forces are now working toward the noble goal of averting the threat of nuclear war. However, it is the communists, the political vanguard of the most active creative force of contemporary mankind, the workers class, who must play the most responsible role in the struggle to save mankind. As was noted at the meeting of Comrade K. U. Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with Comrade K. Florakis, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, on 28 April 1984, under conditions of the threat of nuclear war hanging over mankind, the communists stand with their very lives in the front line of the struggle to preserve civilization and the man's right to life.

Among all the large contemporary political forces, it was precisely the communists who were the first to point out the entire gravity of the danger for mankind in connection with the appearance of nuclear weapons; they were the first to sound the alarm and, in cooperation with representatives of other democratic forces, began to arouse broad masses of people for the defense of peace and against the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. The mission of initiators in the formation of many national organizations of fighters for peace, which were subsequently united in a world movement, fell to the communists.

This vanguard position of communists in the movement for the defense of peace has had a positive effect on the movement's elaboration of clear anti-imperialist positions and its principled determination of the causes and sources of the military threat and the ways and means of its elimination. At the same time, under the conditions of "cold war" and of raging anticommunism in the capitalist countries, this circumstance served as a pretext for the imperialist propaganda to engage in violent slanderous attacks against the movement, which was growing stronger, as well as a ground for attempts to discredit, badger and persecute the movement's active participants.

The mass antiwar movement that has developed in recent years has now spread far beyond the framework of the movement of Fighters for Peace affiliated with the World Peace Council, although the latter, too, has changed beyond recognition as a result of its expanded composition and its contacts and cooperation with various other peace-loving organizations and movements. Accordingly, there have also been changes in the arrangement of political forces within the antiwar movement: The Social Democrats as well as many liberal and Christian representatives and representatives of the ecological parties and movements, of churches and even of conservatives actively participate in antiwar activities together with communists.

Communists welcome this development. Continuing to be, by their convictions, the most consistent fighters for peace, they, at the same time, do not lay claim to any monopoly or special role in the mass antiwar movement and they express their readiness to cooperate with all anti-imperialist forces on an equal footing. Comrade W. Kashton, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada, points out in this connection: "The Communist Party seeks no privileges. It demands to be treated in the same way as all other participants in the struggle to save mankind from annihilation." The 12 July 1983 joint statement of delegations of the CPSU and the French Communist Party also notes that, regardless of the fact that other political forces analyze the existing situation differently, both parties strive to act together with all antiwar forces "without any preconditions."

The role of an equal partner naturally requires the correspondence methods of communication with other forces participating in the antiwar movement; that is, communication mainly through dialogue, by means of persuasion and patient explanation of one's own positions as well as a considerate attitude toward the positions of others even when, in the opinion of communists, these positions are inconsistent or even wrong. It is in this context that, for instance, the development of contacts and cooperation between the communists on the one hand and the pacifists, who represent a considerable part of the

antiwar movement in the West, on the other, is worthy of attention. The relations between communists and pacifists have a long history.

As is known, pacifism has played a noticeable role in developing the peace idea. It was born in the wake of the destructive Napoleonic wars and expressed an intensified antiwar mood of the broad masses as well as the aspirations of the young free trade bourgeoisie to protect its commercial activities against the armed conflicts and violence in relations between states. Pacifism was the first peace-loving trend formulated as a system of views, ideas and ethical standards that opposed all and any wars and advocated general disarmament and the settlement of disputes between states by peaceful means. The pacifist movement has played different roles in different historical periods. During the years of relatively peaceful development of capitalism, it promoted the settlement of conflicts and the conclusion of agreements and conventions between states, the codification of international law, the elaboration of the principles of arbitration, sanctions and the like. At the same time, it is known that reaction frequently used pacifist slogans in its actions to suppress the revolutionary and national liberation struggle of peoples.

Accepting and creatively refining everything positive in the humanist heritage of human thought, Marxism has acted from the very beginning as a consistent champion of peace and opponent of war. What united the communists and pacifists in the past and unites them even more now is their common devotion to peace and condemnation of war. However, whereas the pacifists form their attitude toward war and peace and toward the arms race exclusively on the basis of the moral and ethical standards often founded on religion, the communists, while not at all rejecting the general human approach, also recognize in addition the primary importance of the social and class causes that represent the eternal motive force in increasing armaments, generate international tensions and lead to wars. The communists do not approach every individual war or threat of war in general but rather in a concrete historical way by differentiating between aggressive actions on the one hand and the forced defensive measures and the social and national liberation struggles on the other.

However, when the Russian revolutionary Marxists raised the slogan of turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary liberation war of peoples against oppressors during World War I, and in this connection sharply criticized the pacifist preaching of peace, this attitude did not prevent them--even under existing war conditions--from differentiating between those who spread illusions about the "peace-loving nature" and "humaneness" of the warring imperialist bourgeoisie on the one hand and, on the other, the people who sincerely aspired to peace even though they still failed at the time to recognize the real path to it. The joint participation of the bolsheviks and other revolutionary Marxists and social pacifists in the Zimmerwald (in 1915) and Kienthal (in 1916) socialist conferences was an example of a fruitful cooperation in the struggle against war.

After the conclusion of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, V. I. Lenin, in his instructions to the Soviet delegation to the 1922 Genoa International Conference, called attention to the need for a thorough study of

scientific works of the pacifists, taking into account the fact that our peace program at the conference that was attended on the other side by representatives of bourgeois governments should not be a communist but rather a "bourgeois-pacifist" program (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.", vol 44, p 382). The draft directives to the delegation emphasized that it should strive to reach an "agreement with the pacifist section of the other (bourgeois) camp" (ibid.).

Thus, the facts show that, despite their serious differences, no insurmountable barrier existed in the past between the antiwar positions of communists and pacifists. And now in the new situation determined by the appearance of nuclear weapons, their moving closer to one another is becoming increasingly obvious both in the practical antiwar struggle and in their common views on nuclear war. The main element is a new attitude in principle toward nuclear war which, because of its destructive nature, no longer falls within the traditional understanding on which the past concepts of war and peace were founded.

The struggle to prevent nuclear war has become an absolute imperative for communists. The June (1983) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee formulated their tasks in this connection in the following way: "The threat of a nuclear war hanging over mankind provides a motive for appraising the main purpose of activities of the entire communist movement in a new way. Communists have always been fighters against oppression and exploitation of man by man but, today, they also fight to preserve human civilization and for man's right to life."

Guided by the humane goals of ensuring social progress and happiness for all peoples, the communists cannot allow imperialism, in its departure from the historical scene, to take billions of people with it into a nuclear grave and leave our planet uninhabited.

And although they are convinced that precisely the proletarian class theory of Marxism-Leninism most completely and precisely expresses the universal human interests in finally and definitely establishing peace on earth, they do not seek the acknowledgement of this fact as a condition for cooperation with all those who sincerely strive to eliminate war from the life of mankind.

Thus, today, the positions of pacifists and communists are virtually identical in relation to the main issue of the contemporary period, that is, the need to preserve peace and prevent a nuclear war from breaking out. Their views are also close on such important specific issues as those of ending the arms race, disarmament, non-use of force in international relations and other issues.

The question of methods and means of eliminating the threat of war continues to be important. In the past, the communists rightly criticized the pacifists for their passivity, for restricting their peace-loving activities to verbal denunciations of wars and for their refusal to participate in the practical struggle of masses against the initiators of wars. An increasingly stronger recognition of the danger of nuclear annihilation has forced many pacifist organizations and movements to revise the methods of their activities. The direct and most active participants of many pacifists, together with other

peace-loving forces, in the antiwar demonstrations, marches, blockades of military installations and other similar actions, provides grounds for characterizing the most important part of the contemporary pacifist movement as an active and, at times, even militant antinuclear trend. Communists and pacifists now work together in many antiwar actions.

Of course, differences between them continue to exist and they are evident in the analysis of the cause of international tension and of the arms race and of the sources of nuclear threat, and in their attitude toward the defensive countermeasures that the socialist countries have been forced to take in response to the aggressive actions of imperialism, as well as in some other cases. In particular, the communists, in power in the socialist countries, naturally cannot accept such views of the pacifists as, for instance, those on the abolition of military service and the renunciation of the defense of the socialist fatherland with arms in hand, views which, in their practical application, would jeopardize the defense capability and security of these countries.

In this connection, it is necessary to take into account the fact that contemporary pacifism is not a monolithic movement. It is internally heterogeneous both in the sphere of theory and in the sphere of practical peace-loving actions. It happens quite often that certain individual positions actively promoted by some pacifist currents, organizations, or groups are not considered of primary importance by--or are even absent from the programs of--some other pacifist currents, organizations or groups. Practical experience also shows that certain differences between pacifists and communists are not of a fundamental nature or resulting from differences in their ideological-political concepts, but are artificially created by the imperialist misinformation services.

IV

The Western militarist circles and, primarily, the militarist circles of NATO countries have always striven to weaken and undermine the peace movement. This policy has been pursued using different methods in different periods. Particularly refined efforts are currently aimed at demoralizing the antiwar movement from within and at disorienting and splitting it by introducing into it the appropriate ideas, concepts and slogans in the form of peace-loving phrases.

The choice of this policy is determined in many respects by the fact that the contemporary peace movement is a very mobile and internally heterogeneous organism marked by the broad and diverse composition of its participants.

Various political, social, religious and ideological forces with diverse motives and a diverse approach to the task of preservation of peace participate in it and, at times, these forces invest the very concept of "peace" with different substance.

In the recent period, the composition of the antiwar movement in the West has been primarily broadened as a result of the mass participation of the so-called middle classes of contemporary capitalist society, that is,

representatives of the intelligentsia, employees, students and unemployed youth, housewives, small entrepreneurs and craftsmen and the like. Being the mass "deliverers" of votes in elections, these classes are also the target of the most active influence of all political parties, something that at times produces a boundless ideological-political pluralism among them. At the same time, the petit bourgeois ideological and psychological heritage constantly affects the formation of their views and positions on many problems of international development as well as their elaboration of practical forms of participation in antiwar activities. And, as is known, this situation provides fertile ground for various leftist-Trotskyist groups that have once again become active, living as parasites on the antiwar movement. Hence also the uncritical readiness to accept various theories and concepts stealthily introduced by the imperialist ideological centers.

The claim that the United States and the USSR and the NATO and Warsaw Pact countries are "equally responsible" for the arms race and the international tension is one of those concepts that has been especially persistently and widely thrust upon peace-loving forces in the West in the recent period. What is involved in this connection is the fact that the culpability of the U.S. ruling circles for the growing threat of nuclear war is wholly and generally recognized by the peace-loving circles, but the ideologists of imperialism have calculated that blame shared with anyone else, and especially with the opposing side, the USSR, already becomes something like only half the blame. And once the concept of "shared responsibility" is confirmed, then it is possible to subsequently try to shift the entire responsibility onto the other party.

The concept of "equal responsibility" provided the ground for the attempts to form a special peace movement that would act from the position of condemnation of "both superpowers" and would therefore be "equally distant," "independent" and "nonaligned."

In 1980, a group of individuals of the British Bertrand Russell Peace Fund drafted the program document of such a movement under the title "Appeal for European Nuclear Disarmament." It was on the basis of this "appeal" that the so-called Conventions for European Nuclear Disarmament were held in Brussels and West Berlin with the view of using them for the organizational formation of such a dissident movement that would exclude from its ranks representatives of the socialist countries and of those Western peace-loving forces which failed to sign the "appeal."

These attempts failed. The pressure from representatives of the mass antiwar movements forced the public workers who had usurped the preparations for the third convention held in the Italian city of Perugia in July 1984 to revoke the discriminating conditions concerning these authoritative peace movements. However, cynically later breaking the accord reached beforehand as well as their own promises, they once again tried to take advantage of the convention to implant the spirit of hostile confrontation and "cold war" into the movement by using the irresponsible--few in number but very clamorous--Trotskyist and leftist-anarchist elements from this purpose. These actions provoked indignation and condemnation among the most representative forces, reflecting the true image of the contemporary Western antiwar movement, which

are interested in a serious dialogue to improve mutual understanding and strengthen cooperation between the peace-loving public of the capitalist and the socialist countries.

The essence of the peace movement and its main task and purpose is contained in its very name and is to defend peace and prevent war. It is precisely from the viewpoint of promotion of or counteraction to the fulfillment of this general task that the movement determines its principled attitude toward the concrete policies and activities of the military-political alliances, individual states, organizations, or parties and these or those political workers. However, the concept of "equal distance" deprives the movement in advance of the right to make unprejudiced appraisals that would not be conditioned by the principle of "equal distance." This means that it actually limits the independent character of the movement. The categorical warnings to participants in the antiwar movement that they must primarily guard their "nonalignment" push the real and urgent tasks of the antiwar struggle unostentatiously into a position of secondary importance.

The perfidious essence of the concept of "equal responsibility" of the governments in the West and East is also apparent in the dissentient thesis--spread by the advocates of this concept--about the "incompatibility" of the Western peace movement and the peace movement of the socialist countries. It is alleged that the Western antiwar movement cannot consider the peace movements in the socialist countries as equal partners because the latter express their solidarity with the policies of their governments in the cause of peace preservation and, therefore, if you please, are not "independent." At the same time, active attempts are being made--and not without the assistance of Western special services--to discover or create "independent peace movements" in the socialist countries. Having failed in its antisocialist campaign for the "protection of human rights," imperialism is now trying to revive this campaign under new "peace-loving" slogans.

These sets of demagoguery have succeeded in enticing even some honest people. Having a very vague and, under the pressure of the imperialist propaganda, frequently false picture of the essence of the socialist system and, on the other hand, having learned through their own experience the axiomatic fact that the struggle for peace under Western conditions is usually accompanied by actions against the official policies of their own governments, these people at times can only with great difficulty obtain a true picture of the existing situation in the countries of socialism where the state policies express the will of all people for peace.

The misunderstanding begins to be cleared up whenever a concrete discussion on the basis of known and understandable facts and not a general theoretical discussion is held with this category of people. It is enough to ask: In what concrete respect should the peace movements in the socialist countries act "independently," that is, against the policies of their governments? Against the renunciation of being the first to use nuclear weapons, or against the proposal to freeze nuclear weapons, or against the proposal to reduce military budgets, or against the proposal on nonuse of outer space for military purposes? You see, all these ideas as well as many other concrete proposals of the socialist states essentially express the same basic demands

that the international peace-loving public is making. The only difference is that whereas a majority of Western governments reject these demands, the governments of the USSR and other socialist countries support them. In other words, the peace-loving forces in the West still are only striving to achieve what has already been achieved in the East.

The fact that the Soviet movement of peace advocates is financially completely autonomous is also of no small importance. The activities of the Soviet social organizations actively participating in the peace movement are not financed by the government but by the dues paid by the members (trade unions, Komsomol, and so forth) or by the donations of citizens to the Soviet Peace Fund.

It should be mentioned in this connection that, under pressure from the peace-loving demands of people, the situation is also beginning to change here and there in the West. For instance, in Finland and Greece, the antiwar movements approve the peace-loving actions of their governments and, in turn, enjoy certain support from the authorities. The same situation also exists in many liberated countries interested in peaceful conditions for their development.

Recently, some leaders affiliated with the Movement for European Nuclear Disarmament in particular have been promoting yet another idea according to which, instead of struggling for antiwar and disarmament goals, the peace movement should reorient itself--allegedly for the sake of consolidating peace--toward actions for the sociopolitical reorganization of society in the West and East. To tell the truth, when the matter is considered in its concrete form, it becomes clear that they actually demand a reorganization to be carried out only in the socialist countries.

British Professor E. Thompson, who is one of the most zealous promoters of this kind of idea and whom the Western propaganda persistently advertises as the ideologist of the "new" peace movement, frankly states: "Is it now the turn of the East to begin some kind of ideological disarmament?" The terms such as "humanization of security" and "detente from below" also turn out on closer examination to be a revival of the old subversive slogans of the imperialist propaganda of "socialism with a human face," "protection of freedom and human rights" in the socialist countries, and so forth.

The appeals to establish some kind of a "united, neutral and peaceful Europe" that are sometimes heard in the West are also subordinated to antisocialist goals. This idea was specifically formulated in the aforementioned "appeal" of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. The question of the basis on which it is planned to unite Europe, whether on the socialist one or the capitalist one, is passed over in silence, but it is precisely stated on the other hand that "Europe" must extend "from Poland to Portugal." If we strip away the "peace-loving" packaging from these appeals, the real political meaning of this certainly not new plan is immediately revealed: It is to loosen and break up the socialist countries' unity with the USSR and "integrate" them in capitalist Europe, which would oppose the Soviet Union. And the demand for a revision of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements on the territorial and political settlement of postwar Europe comes quite close to the blatant revanchism to which it is related in spirit.

Complex and dissimilar processes are taking place in the contemporary peace movement. However, regardless of the difficulties and even failures on its path, it continues to advance, gathering strength, accumulating valuable experience and learning important lessons from it for the future. It is already possible to speak quite definitely about some of them now.

The broader the mass character the antiwar movement has, the more real sociopolitical force it represents. No single political party or trend and no single social stratum or class alone can achieve any decisive success in the cause of ensuring a lasting peace and eliminating the threat of nuclear war. Only an all-people's peace movement acting together with other contemporary peace-loving forces is capable of that. The active and mass inclusion of the workers class in the antimilitarist activities represents the main reserve for further expanding and, what is the main thing, qualitatively strengthening the peace movement.

As the Appeal of the Prague World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War (1983) points out, the "strength of this broad and diverse peace movement is in its ability to act in unity."

The main thing in this connection is not the fact that the existing antiwar movement is marked by great diversity, but the fact that regardless of the existing differences, its participants find common points of contact, develop cooperation and organize their action unity.

The specific effective strength of the antiwar movement is most clearly and purposefully evident whenever none of its individual detachments deviates toward an attempt to solve problems that are not characteristic of it, but concern the sphere of activity of political parties or social trends. In other words, the specific effectiveness of peace actions and their ability to produce results reach the highest level when the actual problems of the arms race, detente and disarmament are not treated in general terms and on the basis of "equal distance," but when, instead, the source and the cause of the nuclear threat are concretely pointed out and the main blow is aimed at them. Finally, it is up to the antiwar movement to work out on a timely basis such topical slogans as will be understood by the broad masses and will contribute to mobilizing them to the maximum extent in the struggle for peace and against the threat of nuclear war.

And finally, a particularly important conclusion in the antiwar movement is that it must increase its role not only as an expresser of public opinion, but also as a political factor that will effectively influence the practical policies of governments and parliaments in the cause of disarmament and of strengthening peace. What is involved here is the need to ensure that the will of the masses manifested in the antiwar demonstrations will influence political decisions.

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HYPOCRISY IS AN INTRINSIC PART OF IMPERIALISM'S FOREIGN POLICY; LESSONS OF HISTORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 84 (signed to press 13 Aug 84) pp 99-110

[Article by Academician I. Mints]

[Text] The consistently peaceable stand assumed by the USSR and the important and constructive Soviet initiatives aimed at rescuing mankind from nuclear catastrophe, restraining the arms race, really reducing the level of military confrontation and excluding the use of threat or force in international life are meeting with the response and support of the broad world public strata. Hundreds of millions of people consider them a clear confirmation of the inflexible loyalty of the CPSU and the Soviet state to the Leninist policy of peace, the main purpose of which is to rescue mankind from the threat of war.

The international situation in which the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries are implementing this policy, consistent with the vital interests of all nations on earth, is difficult and stressed. The actions of the aggressive imperialist circles, which have taken the path of unrestrained arms race and are trying to gain military superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist commonwealth as a whole, have significantly increased the threat of war and are threatening the freedom and independence of the nations. "We are well aware of the threat to mankind created today by the thoughtless and adventuristic actions of aggressive imperialist forces," Comrade K. U. Chernenko emphasized at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "and we mention this loudly, drawing the attention of the peoples the world over to this danger."

It is particularly important to expose the intrigues of imperialism and the threat to the destinies of mankind presented by its policy, for the American propaganda network, widespread on all continents, is tirelessly trying to convince the international public that the "crusade" proclaimed by U.S. ruling circles against socialism and the unrestrained arms race and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries are all aimed at preserving peace and security.

Hypocrisy and cynicism and gross interference in the affairs of other countries and the violation of their sovereignty are hardly circumstantial, or

even less so a newly discovered method. Actually, as history proves, such have been the constant principles of the foreign policy of imperialist countries, including the United States. Let us cite in this connection several irrefutable and verifiable facts of cynical intervention on the part of the United States and its allies in the affairs of the land of the soviets during the first postrevolutionary years.

1

It is usually considered that the history of intervention against Soviet Russia starts with the introduction of foreign troops onto its territory. Generally speaking, this is accurate if we have armed invasion alone in mind. However, other forms of intervention exist as well: diplomatic, with a view to hindering the activities of the government or to overthrow it, conspiracies, bribes, support of the opposition, organization of blockades, economic pressure and participation in the creation of internal counterrevolutionary forces. It would be accurate, therefore, to speak of intervention in the broad meaning of the term by including in its history all hostile activities and all forms of intervention aimed at subordinating or overthrowing unsuitable governments, including invasion by foreign troops.

Most frequently the beginning of the intervention is set at the spring of 1918. However, a close study of documents of Russian foreign policy of 1917 indicates that the sources of intervention may be traced as early as the period of the bourgeois Provisional Government, for it was precisely then that its first strings were tied. Particularly important was the activity of the so-called allied missions which visited Russia in the spring and summer of 1917 and which laid the specific political and ideological foundations for intervention.

Such "missionary" activities began with assigning to Russia representatives of Western social reformists, who considered it their main task to help "their own" imperialist bourgeoisie to bring the imperialist war to a successful completion. To this effect, once in Petrograd, their purpose was to exert a "restraining influence" on the "extreme elements" which were calling upon the people's masses to intensify the revolution and conclude a just and democratic peace. The delegations of British and French socialist parliamentarians arrived in Russia by the end of March and spent more than a month in the country. Speaking in Petrograd, Moscow and at the front, they agitated in favor of continuing the war and making class peace "for the sake of victory." The bolshevik press exposed them as traitors to the socialist cause and agents of imperialism. The Italian socialists followed the British and French delegates to Russia, arriving in May 1917. Their work as well was reduced to preaching civil peace and mobilizing all forces for the imperialist war.

The ineffectiveness of the efforts of the socialist parliamentarians forced the ruling circles to commit heavier artillery. In April-May 1917 social delegates of ministerial rank came to Russia: A. Thomas, the French minister of armaments, A. Henderson, the British minister without portfolio, and E. Wandervelde, the Belgian minister. They reached the conclusion that only the establishment of a "firm regime," able to put an end to "revolutionary anarchy," could also resolve the strictly "military" problem. This demanded

of the allies a new "approach" to Russian affairs. Kerenskiy was subsequently to write about Thomas's activities that "Albert Thomas, who showed a rare intuition, realized from the very first moment that the Russian revolutionary catastrophe demanded of the Russian government and Russia's allies an entirely new military and international policy...." It was no accident that it was precisely Thomas who, on his own initiative, became one of the main propagandists of the disgusting version of "German money" as the reason for the Russian Revolution.

Yet another mission, American this time, headed by Republican Senator E. Ruth, arrived in Russia at the end of May 1917. It was different from the other Western missions in terms of staff and significantly broader social composition. The mission included representatives of bourgeois circles, the military and delegates of socialist, worker and youth organizations. Their purpose was to prevent the power from shifting to bolshevik hands. Their specific assignment was formulated with extreme clarity: "to prevent the socialist elements in Russia (meaning the bolsheviks--the author) from implementing any plan which would undermine the efficiency of the Allied powers." The U.S. bourgeois press openly wrote of the need to establish in Russia a "firm system" to restrain the revolutionary masses. Other American missions were assisting the Ruth mission in this task--a technical railroad mission headed by D. Stevens and a Red Cross mission. It is important to note that the American mission was recruiting cadres of counterrevolutionary leaders: in particular, it had invited to the United States Admiral Kolchak, who had been forced to resign his command of the Black Sea fleet under the pressure of revolutionary seamen; he did go to Britain and to the United States from where, subsequently, he was sent to Siberia.

It is the overall view of contemporaries and historians that the results of the missions' activities proved insignificant. Actually, they were unable either to prevent the growth of antiwar feelings or to hinder the development of the revolution and its growth into a socialist revolution. However, the awareness that it proved impossible to block the development of revolutionary events in Russia through propaganda, financial and economic methods alone, naturally led the ruling circles of the Entente and the United States to the conviction that (under certain circumstances) the use of more "effective" measures may become necessary.

On this basis, both the members of the mission and the foreign diplomats who actively cooperated with them during their stay in Russia exchanged relevant information with the ruling circles of their countries, information which became an important element in the decision to intervene. This became obvious as the October Revolution approached. The ruling parties and governments of all capitalist countries welcomed the revolution with extreme hostility. No single government in the world recognized the power of the workers and peasants. The governments of the allied countries neither broke relations with Russia nor declared war on it. However, their embassies behaved as though in a hostile country. The personnel of the embassies of the Allies, who enjoyed diplomatic immunity, freely acted in organizing and supporting anyone who opposed the Soviet system. The embassies were turning into centers of espionage where conspiracies were hatched and funds were sent to all sorts of counterrevolutionary organizations.

The imperialist powers received with particular hostility Lenin's Decree on Peace, which called upon all belligerent governments and their nations to undertake talks on general peace. The imperialists organized a conspiracy of silence around Lenin's decree. Despite their efforts, however, the ideas of peace spread among the huge masses. The toiling people of many countries called for the adoption of the Soviet proposal or, at least, for a public declaration of the objectives of the continuing war. Frightened by the increasing objections of the masses, the Allied governments tried to counterbalance the bolshevik slogan. On 8 January 1918 U.S. President Wilson made public his program which entered history as the "14 points" for peace. The bourgeois press immediately proclaimed Wilson the "apostle of peace."

Wilson's message brimmed with general considerations on the "benefits of peace." It abounded in hypocritical statements about "open diplomacy" and even condemned secret talks. However, such bombastic and unctuous statements actually concealed specific requirements aimed at achieving the imperialist objective of crushing Germany and taking its colonies by the Entente or, briefly, the redivision of the entire world, which had in fact been the main purpose of the war. Wilson's message included a point directly applicable to Russia. It had been deliberately formulated in a very vague manner: it spoke of certain "evacuation of all Russian territory"; mention was made of resolving problems affecting Russia with a view to helping her to resolve unhindered and without difficulties problems of political development and national policy. However, the fact that the intervention was the main and basic reason for the country's difficulties at that time was left unmentioned.

The vagueness of the statements was dispersed soon afterwards by the author himself of the demagogic considerations concerning "aid" to Russia. In his commentary to the "14 Point Program," drafted somewhat later, Point 6 was interpreted in the sense that since the independence of Poland had already been recognized, there was nothing to be said about a unified Russia and that it would be proper to dismember it into individual countries such as Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia and the Ukraine. The Caucasus was to be considered part of the problem relative to the Ottoman Empire.

The "apostle of peace" did not ignore the rest of Russia as well: Great Russia and Siberia were to set up a government. It was emphasized that such a government should be "sufficiently representative to act on behalf of these territories." In other words, the existence of the Soviet system was ignored and rejected. Such a government was promised all possible aid on the part of the United States and its allies. The following was said on the future of Central Asia: "Quite possibly a power may be entrusted with a limited mandate to govern it as a protectorate." The most likely pretender was Britain. The solemnly proclaimed aid to Russia was thus turning into its dismemberment and the abolition of the Soviet system.

U.S. foreign policy pursued the same objectives during the dramatic period of the Brest-Litovsk talks between Soviet Russia and Germany at the beginning of 1918. Like Britain, France, Italy and Japan, the United States refused to participate in talks on general peace. They left their ally Russia, which had suffered such high casualties in the course of World War I, to face Germany alone. Their objective was to force it to fight an incomparably stronger

enemy and thus to doom it to defeat. Abandoned by its allies, exhausted by the war, with an old army incapable of resisting but as yet unable to create an army of a new socialist type, our country was forced to make separate peace in order to save the Soviet system and protect the revolution.

Having failed in their attempts to overthrow the Soviet system with the help of German bayonets, the ruling circles of the Entente, however, did not abandon their objectives. They tried to use the struggle against the ratification of the Brest Peace Treaty, waged not only by the bourgeois parties in Russia but also by the left SR and "left-wing communists." Informed of the gravity of the situation, in March 1918 President Wilson sent a telegram to the 4th Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets in which, on behalf of the people of the United States he pharisaically expressed "sincere sympathy to the Russian people, particularly now, when Germany has thrown its armed forces deep inside the country." After expressing his "sympathy," the president declared that the U.S. government "will use all opportunities to give Russia once again full sovereignty and total independence in its internal affairs...." However, the telegram contained no promises of any specific measures of help. On the contrary, in his hypocritical address Wilson emphasized that the U.S. government "is unable, unfortunately, at the present time to provide Russia with the immediate and active support which it would have liked to provide."

In fact, naturally, the Allies had no intention whatsoever of supporting Soviet Russia. The President's address was merely one more confirmation of dissembling, customary in U.S. foreign policy: Wilson agreed to an armed intervention by the Allies, including the United States, in the northern part of Russia and in Siberia.

At the same time, with a view to undermining Soviet Russia from within, an effort was made to make use of the difficulties related to the rapid organization of the Red Army and, above all, the grave shortage of military cadres. Aware of these difficulties, the ambassadors of a number of Allied countries offered the help of their specialists. Such an initiative was followed by American Ambassador Frances as well. On 26 March 1918 he sent a cable to U.S. Secretary of State Lansing explaining the reasons for which he had supported the suggestion: "My true and totally secret consideration is that an army thus organized could, with the help of corresponding methods, be removed from bolshevik command and used against the Germans and even against its makers...."

Offering one's officers under the pretext of aid while in fact trying, with their help, to take the army out of bolshevik hands and direct it against the Soviet system is a case rarely found in the history of diplomacy in which the cynicism of leaders of the largest capitalist state was exposed so frankly.

Russia did not participate in the Paris peace conference, which officially ended World War I, although it was a member of the Entente and had suffered the heaviest casualties in battle. However, although Soviet Russia had not been invited to the conference, its actual presence was felt by all

participants: it was the greatest subject of discussion even when problems unrelated to it were being considered. It had drawn attention by virtue of the fact that the revolutionary events which were taking place in Russia were exciting and leading working people the world over to the struggle against imperialism. Every day the telegraph brought news of the successful advances of the Red Army along all fronts. The leaders of the Entente were worried by the possibility of Soviet troops appearing at the very borders of Germany, where a revolutionary situation was developing as well. In the face of this threat, the Entente demanded of Germany, the losing side, to keep its forces in Russia until they could be replaced by the armed forces of the victors. However, the totally fed up German soldiers were rushing home. The developing circumstances made the question of Russia extremely grave and a matter of concern for the imperialist powers. This was frankly expressed by Lloyd George, the British prime minister: "The greatest danger today, in my view, is that Germany may turn to the side of bolshevism and put all its resources, its entire spiritual vanguard and tremendous organizational talent at the disposal of the revolutionary fanatics who are dreaming of subordinating the entire world to bolshevism. This danger is no chimera."

On the eve of the official opening of the peace conference, scheduled for 18 January 1919, the Council of Ten--the leading authority of the conference--had met on several occasions, with the participation of U.S. President Wilson. As before, France demanded that Russia's representatives not be invited to attend the conference and asked that the struggle against the Soviet system be continued.

Lloyd George acknowledged that the Soviet government had strengthened its positions considerably. In his words, the peasants were supporting the bolsheviks, for they feared that any other party in power would take their land away. Units of foreign soldiers in the north and in Siberia were breaking up and asking to go home. Units of the White Czech Armed Forces in Siberia had also lost their combat capability. The liquidation of the bolsheviks would require a million-strong army and where could it come from? Lloyd George asked. The only remaining possibility, he said, was to ask all governments created on Russian territory to conclude an armistice and send their representatives for talks with the Allies.

Wilson supported Lloyd George's plan but added a condition which totally exposed the entire plan of the imperialists: should the Soviet forces refrain from conducting offensive operations, representatives of all belligerent sides could be invited to Paris. The essence of the joint British-U.S. proposal was an attempt to stop the advance of the Soviet forces and thus to rescue the counterrevolutionary White groups.

Discussions on the Russian problem continued for several days at the meetings of the Council of Ten. Between sessions personal meetings took place among the members of the "dictatorship of the three"--Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau, the French prime minister--at which the individual items of the general resolution were being coordinated.

Initially, Paris was rejected as the place where representatives of the warring parties in Russia could meet, for possible contacts between Soviet

delegates and French workers, who were expressing their sympathy with the land of the soviets, were considered dangerous. In the final account, it was decided that a meeting would be held on the Principe Islands in the Sea of Marmara.

On 22 January Wilson read the draft appeal to the heads of the Russian political groups. This document entered history as a model of hypocrisy on the part of American diplomacy, promoted to the rank of state policy.

On behalf of the Allies Wilson claimed that their only purpose was to help "the Russian people rather than to create obstacles on its way or to interfere in any way with its right to organize its own affairs in accordance with its own will." Totally ignoring the fact that the troops of the Entente were trampling Russian soil and persecuting and subjecting the Russian working people to violence, Wilson hypocritically said that these countries "consider the Russian people their friends and not enemies and would like to help them...." Wilson asserted that they were not aspiring either to exploit or to use Russia in any possible way or else to help its enemies. The statement he made on behalf of the Allies was truly blasphemous: "They unconditionally recognized the revolution and in no way or under any circumstances will they help or support any counterrevolutionary encroachments."

Meanwhile, during the conference itself, the representatives of all the members of the Entente, including Wilson, showed extreme hostility toward the Russian Revolution and bolshevism. Despite the solemn declaration of the "unconditional recognition of the revolution," for many more years the land of the soviets was not recognized by the leading capitalist countries. It was officially recognized by Britain and France only in 1924, while the United States did not recognize the country until 1933.

Wilson turned from such loving and pompous declarations to specific steps which left nothing of all he had promised. The suggestion formulated by the Entente ignored the question of withdrawing foreign troops from Russia and was actually reduced to declaring an armistice, stopping the offensive of the Soviet forces on White Guard formations. In turn, this would have enabled the Entente to supply weapons and ammunition to the Whites, the availability of which proved to be extensive after the end of the World War, and to preserve and strengthen the regimes of Kolchak, Denikin, and the like.

Actually, it was a question of an effort to dismember Russia: to give equal rights to the representatives of Soviet Russia and the counterrevolutionary "governments" meant to legitimize the division of the country into separate parts. It was no accident that in his address on behalf of the Entente governments, Wilson pointed out that the present talks (i.e., the entire peace conference--the author) were based on the "14 Points" in which, as we pointed out, the point concerning Russia was interpreted precisely in terms of its dismemberment.

The world's capitalist press proclaimed the Entente's appeal to Russia proof of peaceableness while Wilson became the harbinger of peace the world over. Meanwhile, the hope was expressed at the conference itself that the Soviet government would deem it demeaning to take its seat behind the conference

table alongside its enemies. In that case the Soviets could be blamed for the collapse of the meeting, from which the "peace-loving" action of the Entente could only benefit.

However, the exultation on the occasion of Wilson's hypocritical appeal was short: in a radiotelegraph note to the governments of the Entente, dated 4 February 1919, the Soviet government agreed to send its representatives to the planned conference on the Principe Islands.

To begin with, the Soviet note wrecked the artless plan of the "peacemakers": laying on the Soviet system the entire blame for unwillingness to engage in peace talks. Furthermore, Soviet Russia did not require a termination of military activities on the part of the White Guard "governments," but insisted on recalling from Russia the Allied forces which were the counterrevolution's main support. This condition confirmed the total confidence of the Soviet system that with the withdrawal of the interventionists the counterrevolution would fall under the strike of the mutinied people. Furthermore, in its address to the governments of the Entente, the Soviet government expressed its readiness for peace even "at the price of major concessions, to the extent to which they would not threaten the further development of the Soviet republic": It agreed to granting concessions to the foreigners and asked for an indication as to where such concessions could be granted; the Soviet system was even willing to discuss territorial concessions.

The Soviet note not only exposed the hypocritical imperialist politicians but also the "peacemakers" as aggressors, conquerors and main culprits for the entire difficulties and suffering experienced by Russia. The note caused confusion among the leaders of the Paris conference and the organizers of the "peace-making" plan. "The bolsheviks have agreed," Wilson said in expressing his assessment of the note, "but in a deliberately insulting manner."

Unable to win a "peaceful victory" over the land of the soviets, the "peacemakers" themselves fell into the trap they were setting for others and out of which they had to extricate themselves. On 11 February, S. Pichon, the French minister of foreign affairs, told foreign journalists that "Bearing in mind that the bolsheviks alone have decided to accept the suggestion, the objective of this call has not been achieved. Under such circumstances the conference becomes useless." However, even this statement implied a lie: Pichon concealed the fact that France had recommended that its White Guard puppets abstain from participation in the conference.

The diplomatic plan of a conference on the Principe Islands failed. Meanwhile, the military situation of the Entente in Russia continued to worsen. The Red Army was advancing in all directions. The structure of the counterrevolution, which the imperialist powers were trying to build, was threatened with collapse. The revolutionary movement was spreading throughout Europe as well. Concern was expressed at the Paris Peace Conference at the fact that not only Germany but France and Italy as well could become revolutionary arenas in the immediate future.

This encouraged the U.S. and British leaders to try a new maneuver. With Lloyd George's agreement, Wilson sent W. Bullitt, one of the members of the

American delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, to Russia to study the situation on the spot and to determine the conditions under which the Soviet government would agree to the initiation of peace talks. Prior to his departure, Bullit was provided with a list of conditions for a possible peace. It stipulated a stop to military activities on all fronts and the preservation of all de facto existing governments on their territories. These conditions confirmed that the main purpose of Bullit's mission was to stop the successful advance of the Soviet forces and to save the counterrevolution from defeat. The list also contained items on possible conditions for trading with Soviet Russia, granting amnesty to all political prisoners on both sides and the withdrawal of all Allied forces following demobilization of the Russian army.

Bullit left for Soviet Russia at the end of February 1919. He held meetings at the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs and was received by Lenin.

The documents Bullit brought and the conditions he presented seemed to indicate that Great Britain and the United States seriously intended to establish peaceful relations with Soviet Russia and even to resume trade with it. After the talks Bullit received the answer of the Soviet government. The Soviet government agreed to a termination of military activities by all groups and to concluding a 2-week armistice. It called for convening a conference in a neutral country, so that no military operations could be resumed after its beginning and for aid to anti-Soviet groups on the part of foreign countries to end. This made it clearly understood that the counterrevolution existed only with the help of the interventionists.

At the same time, the Soviet government took into consideration the conditions formulated by Lloyd George as transmitted to Bullit. They were harsh. However, aspiring for peace and trying to save the lives of the working people and to preserve the sovereignty of all Soviet republics which had been organized by them, the Soviet government showed its readiness to compromise. It agreed with the Entente's suggestion in principle. In turn, however, it formulated a number of specifications: the Entente and the counterrevolutionary governments which had formed on Russian territory were not to attempt the violent overthrow of the Soviet system. While agreeing to honor prewar and wartime loans, the Soviet government demanded that they be apportioned among all governments which had been established on Russian territory and that the gold which the Czechoslovaks had seized in Kazan and that given to Germany in accordance with the Brest Peace Treaty, etc., be considered as payments.

The assessment which Lenin gave to the draft treaty formulated jointly with Bullit, at the 7th All-Russian Congress, was as follows: "...In a businesslike manner we have agreed to the harshest possible peace conditions and have said that 'the price of the blood of our workers and soldiers is too high to us; we shall pay to you, as the merchants, a heavy price for the peace; we shall pay this heavy price only for the sake of preserving the lives of workers and peasants'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 403).

Back in Paris, Bullit submitted the draft treaty to U.S. Secretary of State Lansing and to Wilson. Bullit was received by Lloyd George who considered the

document quite important and who even discussed who to send to Moscow to wind up the talks.

Meanwhile, the military situation in Siberia had changed: the Kolchak forces, which had received a tremendous amount of ammunition from the Entente, mounted a counteroffensive. This was a cause for rejoicing for the world bourgeoisie, which hoped that now Kolchak would rapidly move toward the Volga, join Denikin's forces and capture Moscow in the immediate future.

Although Bullit's mission had been secret, rumors of the mission spread among parliamentary circles, particularly when Kolchak's successful offensive became known. Lloyd George was forced to make a speech in the British House of Commons. Asked about the Bullit mission, he said that he was totally uninformed of it. In turn, Wilson claimed to be sick and refused to receive Bullit, although the latter's report and draft treaty were in Wilson's hands.

Bullit expressed himself exceptionally sharply on the subject of the pharisaic behavior of those who had sent him to Moscow. On Lloyd George's speech he said that "approximately 1 week after I had presented Lloyd George personally and in the presence of third parties the official proposal (Russia's--the author), he delivered a speech to the British Parliament claiming total ignorance of this proposal. This was a great deception of public opinion and perhaps the most impudent one I have ever come across in my life."

The latest plan of the "peace-lovers" exposed in the face of the entire world the leaders of the imperialist members of the Entente as incorrigible hypocrites and liars.

Two of the 440 articles of the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty, which marked the legal end of World War I, directly pertained to Russia. Article 116 demanded that Germany recognize and respect the independence of all the territories of the former Russian empire of 1 August 1914, i.e., before the start of the war. Furthermore, Russia retained the right to obtain from Germany some of the reparations claimed from that country. Article 117, however, entirely omitted the hypocritical and false statement of Russia's independence. It read as follows: "Germany pledges to acknowledge the full validity of all treaties or agreements which the allied and united countries would conclude with countries which have been established or will be established on all or part of the territory of the former Russian empire as it existed on 1 August 1914 and to recognize the boundaries of these states as they are established."

This is truly remindful of the ancient Roman saying that what is allowed to Jupiter is not allowed to the bull: Germany should keep its hands off Russia while the winners reserve the right to dismember Russia and demand this plunder and division to be recognized in advance! Let us emphasize that these were neither words nor statements made by individual leaders in the capitalist world but items within the text of a peace treaty signed by the leaders of almost 30 capitalist states!

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These facts apply essentially to the period of Wilson's presidency, as a case of particular abuse of hypocrisy as a foreign policy method. We should not

forget, however, that there is a great deal in common between Wilson's age and the present: at that time the West officially proclaimed that socialism should be strangled in the cradle. Today a "crusade" against socialism as a social system has been proclaimed just as officially. As a rule, common assignments trigger a common line of behavior, including hypocrisy in politics.

During the time which followed Wilson's presidency as well, the U.S. ruling circles did not abandon their methods. History has not forgotten the period between the two world wars, when the Soviet Union was waging a tireless struggle for peace and insisted on creating a collective security system aimed against fascism which was threatening the entire world. The U.S. authorities, like their imperialist partners in the League of Nations, opposed the peaceful line followed by the Soviet Union with a "pacification" of the fascist aggressor. Under the "pacification" slogan American capital poured into fascist Germany's industry, restoring and developing the war industry above all. The weapons, which were created not without the help of the American imperialists and their accomplices, were used by Hitler in his war on the Soviet Union, turning virtually all of Western Europe, which had also supported "pacification," into its vassal. It was thus that the policy of "pacification" turned into an encouragement and concealment of aid to the fascist aggressors.

The ungrateful "pupil" also turned against his benefactors by defeating France and declaring war on Britain and the United States. All of this forced the American and British authorities to yield to the growing pressure of the people's masses, which called for supporting the Soviet Union which was fighting fascism alone, and the creation of an anti-Hitlerite coalition. However, even in this great war for the freedom and independence of the peoples the U.S. ruling circles did not totally abandon their habitual methods of hypocrisy and craftiness. Two rather important facts can be cited to back up this assertion.

In joining the anti-Hitlerite coalition, both the United States and Britain promised to open a second front against Germany in the West in 1942. The Red Army was courageously fighting the common enemy and shedding its blood in gigantic battles, while the Allies limited themselves merely to extensive acknowledgments of the courage of the Soviet people and rather minor operations on land and at sea, which did not draw away substantial fascist forces, while the opening of a real second front, which would have truly drawn away major forces of Hitlerite Germany and its allies away, was being postponed month after month. It was only in 1944, after it had become clear that the Red Army had withstood the pressure of the fascist hordes, had mounted its offensive and proved that it was able to complete the routing of the Hitlerites by itself, did the United States agree to open a second front. Untold millions of people would have been saved had the United States and Britain fulfilled their obligations within the planned time instead of waiting for the Soviet Union and Germany to exhaust their strength in fighting each other, after which they could have resolved the problem of the destinies of mankind in their own interests!

The second fact of the treachery of the U.S. authorities in World War II was their attempt to engage in secret talks with the Hitlerites behind the back of

their allies. It became known throughout the world from Hitlerite documents captured by the Red Army that in February 1943 Allen Dulles, the official representative of the U.S. government, had discussed making a separate peace with fascist Germany while in Switzerland without informing the Soviet Union of this either before or after the talks. History teaches us that, sooner or later, hypocrisy is exposed and that the truth invariably becomes known.

The present U.S. administration, which is ignoring the lessons of history, is once again resorting to the use of the repeatedly debunked method of hypocritical diplomacy. For months on end, obviously yielding to increasing public demand, the United States has discussed with the Soviet Union a reduction in nuclear weapons.

Formulating more and more new proposals, which altered in no way the negative and obstructionist position it held, the United States tried to disrupt the existing military-strategic balance between it and the Soviet Union. Hiding behind the talks, it undertook to deploy in Western Europe the latest first-strike missiles aimed at the USSR and its allies. The United States leadership, furthermore, is trying to create the impression that nothing special has happened and is calling for the resumption of the talks. While loudly proclaiming its aspiration for peace and disarmament, the Washington leadership is actually increasingly urging on the arms race, engaging in military adventures in Lebanon and Grenada, threatening the sovereignty of many other countries and interfering in their domestic affairs.

While declaring the Soviet Union to be the "country of the devil," and America the embodiment of "noble knighthood in the flesh," President Reagan also signed secret directive 138, which substantially broadens the functions of American espionage and subversion departments in organizing terrorist acts abroad and giving a free hand in the assassination of political leaders unsuitable to the ruling U.S. circles. The "knights" of today's master of the White House are helping the executioners and punishers to deal with the civilian population and the helpless women and children of El Salvador. In accordance with the presidential directive, special CIA detachments and their mercenaries are mining ports in Nicaragua, blowing up schools, hospitals and power plants and assassinating the citizens of this long-suffering country which only recently became free from U.S. imperialist rule. While expounding on Christian principles of love of man and the defense of freedom and justice, the present American administration is supporting bloody and criminal regimes under the heels of which the people live in poverty and rightlessness.

In manipulating the feelings of the simple Americans and in an effort to earn their support, on the eve of the elections Reagan proclaimed 28 May "a day of prayer for peace." On virtually the same day when this proclamation was ceremoniously made public, the President was able to secure the agreement of the Senate Armed Forces Committee to appropriate about \$4.5 billion for the production of 30 nuclear intercontinental MX ballistic missiles and \$8.1 billion for building 34 B-1 strategic bombers, and ordered without congressional sanction military aid to the anti-people's ruling regime in El Salvador.

While broadly proclaiming some kind of "bold initiative," allegedly aimed at achieving a "global ban on chemical weapons," in fact the American government is making hasty preparations for the implementation of the \$10 billion presidential program for the "chemical rearmament of the United States."

Pharisaically swearing, particularly of late, its love of peace and desire for a dialogue with the Soviet Union, in fact official Washington is clearly continuing to rely on the methods of power diplomacy. Thus, hoping to mislead the American voters, who are calling for an end to the dangerous sliding toward the nuclear precipice and for establishing normal working relations with the Soviet Union, President Reagan announced his readiness to discuss with the USSR any problem at any time. The Soviet government brought forth an initiative by suggesting to the U.S. administration a meeting in Vienna on preventing the militarization of outer space and refusing to use it for military purposes. Finding no convenient pretext for the rejection of the Soviet initiative, the White House launched a noisy propaganda campaign the purpose of which was to prove that the Soviet proposal was acceptable but that Washington also intended to discuss other problems which were virtually unrelated to the militarization of outer space. At the same time, the Reagan administration secured congressional approval for the appropriation of several billion dollars for the development and manufacturing of new types of outer space weapons, which increase even further the threat of destroying all life on earth.

And so on, ad infinitum. The pharisaic and hypocritical attitude of the leaders of the largest country in the capitalist world is endless. Hypocrisy has long become an inseparable feature of all imperialist foreign policy.

Countering this policy is the clear, honest and principle-minded policy of the Soviet Union, entirely and totally founded on Lenin's peace program and on the peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. Our country has never allowed any possibly ambiguous interpretation of its foreign political objectives. The Soviet Union is struggling firmly and consistently for an end to the arms race, the restoration of trust and development of extensive peaceful cooperation among different countries and the strict respect of the right of all nations to organize their life as they wish. It is clear to anyone with common sense that this approach alone can provide conditions under which a lasting peace may be established throughout the earth.

Comrade K. U. Chernenko reasserted the inviolable loyalty of our party and Soviet state to the Leninist course of peace and detente: "This Leninist

peace policy, the main features of which are defined at the present stage in history by the resolutions of the latest CPSU congresses, is consistent with the basic interests of the Soviet Union and, essentially those of the other peoples of the world, and we firmly declare that we shall not retreat from it by even one step.

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RESPECT, ATTENTION AND CONCERN FOR RETIREES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 84 (signed to press 13 Aug 84) pp 111-113

[Letter to the editors by N. Gordeyev, deputy general director of the Krasnodarskiy ZIP Production Association, Krasnodar]

[Text] There comes a time in the life of every person when he takes a well-deserved rest. Frankly speaking, this is a very important point for everyone: a life pattern which had taken decades to develop is destroyed and a quite painful awareness of stopping active work surfaces.

Every year 200 to 250 working people are pensioned off at our electrical measurement instruments plant in Krasnodar. This is an impressive number. As a rule, these retirees are highly skilled. They have tremendous professional and practical experience. I have frequently seen the following: a person may be working seemingly without hurry or without any fuss yet the work goes on smoothly. The person retires, someone else takes his place and begins to complain: "I cannot cope!" He is replaced by someone else but the complaint remains the same: "It is hard." Unwittingly, one begins to ask how the retiree himself managed?

Paradoxical though this might seem, retirees in our country are...becoming younger. On the one hand, as we know, retirement age in the USSR is one of the lowest in the world. On the other, thanks to the improved living standard of the Soviet people, the systematic implementation of measures to improve their working and living conditions and extensive disease prevention measures, the average span of life has increased. For that reason, many retirees retain their ability to work even after reaching retirement age. If such people are left to lead a meaningless life, their real old age is stolen from them, for old age is not only chronological but largely a matter of spirit.

To this day, the first builders of our enterprise, the envoys of the Komsomol of that distant 1937 are still at work, people such as V. A. Golubotskiy, P. A. Smutnyy, A. I. Kolesnikov and others. The only entry in their labor record is that they were hired at the electrical measurement instruments plant with an interruption for army service during the Great Patriotic War. They long ago reached retirement age but cannot imagine life without the plant collective. It is even difficult to believe their age. They are interested

in everything. They are energetic and have not lost their ability to enjoy and be amazed by life around them. They actively participate in social work. Approximately 25 percent of the pensioners follow their example at the plant. They remain at work in their previous or any other suitable job. Some of them, after a few months of retirement, come back to their collective and find a job consistent with their strength and possibilities.

We use the following work method as well: on the retiree's birthday the foreman and his fellow workers take him flowers and gifts they have made and greetings from the shop's management and social organizations. Greetings are presented to the retiree. He is informed of matters at the plant and its difficulties and asked for advice. The retiree returns to his shop to make a few suggestions, to help, to watch young people at work and demonstrate means of performing a given operation, developed over many years' time. The retiree becomes imbued with a feeling of being really useful and concerned with the projects of the collective and applies to the personnel department. Naturally, the plant needs his working hands. What it needs most, however, is his wise advice, experience, skill and love of job.

There are in our plant such instructors who have the rare ability to develop the independent work of young men and women. They do not bore them with petty supervision but teach them essentially on the basis of their own experience. Thus, S. Ya. Buturlakin, who joined the party at the front and is a Great Patriotic War and a labor veteran, has worked as fitter-electrician at the shop for the mechanization and automation of production processes for a quarter of a century.

He is characterized by conscientiousness, a feeling of high responsibility and the ability to complete projects. Such qualities are particularly valuable when something new, nonstandard and unorganized yet greatly needed by the plant is applied. Stepan Yakovlevich was awarded, in addition to his combat orders and medals, the high award of the homeland--the Order of Lenin--for his selfless toil. People turn to him for advice and help. He knows how to listen and to understand and he gives his immediate support to any good initiative. Buturlakin has passed on his skills to 23 of his students.

Matching him is A. D. Kitsyn, labor veteran and turner at the same shop, bearer of the Badge of Honor order and many medals for conscientious work. The most intricate and accurately machined parts come out of his lathe. As one of the best instructors of young people, he tries to share with them his knowledge and experience (he has trained 18 people in the complex skill of general purpose turner). However, this is not the only thing for which Kitsyn deserves credit. He teaches the young to love their job and not to avoid any kind of work, not to violate our communist ideals and not to display philistine qualities.

M. V. Lukoshkin, party member and participant in the defense of Moscow, bearer of the Order of Lenin, a mechanic-fitter, has worked in the neighboring experimental shop slightly less than 40 years. He is assigned to make most complex instruments. It is a firmly established fact that any instrument to which he has "given life" will not break down and will meet the required accuracy and all design parameters. Lukoshkin generously shares his

experience and creative cunning with young people and colleagues. They learn from him not only professional skill but practical wisdom and ability to work with people. It was no accident that the members of the shop party organization have frequently elected him their leader. Today he is an active member of the voluntary party commission.

Many similar examples could be cited in which retirees share with the young people their knowledge, skill and experience and remain in the front lines of the builders of a new life. Suffice it to say that one-third of the 710 instructors at the Krasnodarskiy ZIP Production Association are retirees. Nevertheless, in the area of material production and in other economic sectors quite frequently skilled workers are easily pensioned off, after which a long time is spent in efforts to find "outside" people to replace them. I believe that greater attention should be paid to such retirees. Individual talks should be held with every one of them. They should be helped to take jobs suitable to their state of health. Unfortunately, according to the instructions, the labor commissions must base their opinions only on the degree of disability, whereas problems of assessing the potential of a person are virtually ignored. In my view, in certificating the retirees, the commissions could issue recommendations on their efficient job placement.

The transition from labor activeness to old age retirement should be gradual. To this effect, in our plant working pensioners are given, in addition to the basic additional unpaid leave and travel vouchers, material help for treatment (50-80 rubles). If for any reason the retiree is unable to work at the shop he is given work at home, for with good will jobs which could be performed at home with the help of a few simple adaptations can always be found (braiding, simple assemblies, cleaning parts, manual finishing, etc.). I believe that it is time for enterprises to issue information bulletins with a list of parts, assemblies and simple operations which could be made or performed at home.

At our plant we try through a sensitive and concerned attitude for the retirees to create for them (taking their state of health into consideration) conditions for the type of work they could perform (half-day or half-week work, lowered output norms), additional rest, and so on, thus helping roughly half of the retirees to retain their place in the labor ranks. Nor do we spare good words to them, for they deserve them. Also suitable here are "flashes" describing their dedicated work and notes about them on the wall newspaper and in our PRIBOROSTROITEL' house organ. The elderly person could show such a newspaper to his children and friends years later. Such materials encourage other retirees to remain as long as possible in their collective.

In a word, a great variety of forms of material and moral incentive for elderly people could be found. Conditions could be created for work in accordance with their strength and for proper rest, planned in accordance with production needs and possibilities. Nevertheless, the administrations of many enterprises and organizations are slow in applying such methods although the legislation has offered them extensive opportunities for utilizing the labor of veterans. The main hindrance is inertia in managerial thinking and the unwillingness to burden oneself with additional concern, for it is by far simpler to ascribe one's own inefficiency to "cadre shortage." The local party and soviet authorities could have an important say on such matters.

Nevertheless, sooner or later, the time comes when the old can no longer work. Their entire life appears to be behind them. It is during this difficult period in the life of the retiree that the attention of the collective and its involvement are more important than ever, for tactlessness, indifference and forgetfulness (and many others) hurt everyone and even more so the elderly, nurturing sad thoughts during sleepless nights.

I have kept a letter by an honored veteran of our plant and bearer of the Order of Lenin. He does not complain about his fate but simply shares his pain. As long as he worked he was needed. Not a day passed without social work. He was a city soviet deputy, a court juror, a member of the party and plant committees and a permanent member of the shop's party bureau. He was also a member of the shop party committee and held many other positions. He tried to do everything he could and to manage everything. After he retired, in 2 years time he was not once invited to attend a celebration or greeted on his birthday.... He came to the plant's polyclinic, where he had been registered for a lifetime, finding that his records had been sent to the archives. Nor was it simple to attend a shop party meeting, for he had to stand in line at the pass-issuing office to obtain a one-time pass.

Yet the regulation regarding honored plant retirees stipulate that they enjoy specific priorities. However, supervision over their observance had been poorly organized. Currently, on the insistence of the party commission, the trade union committee and the council of war and labor veterans are correcting such annoying omissions. All former cadre workers have been reregistered and their files have been returned to the medical department. An extensive discussion on work with the retired was held at seminars attended by chairmen of shop trade union committees and party bureaus of shops and departments and shortcomings were criticized.

Steps were taken to ensure the more active involvement of retirees in raising the young people in the spirit of revolutionary, labor and combat traditions, so that each meeting may give the young men and women a charge of ideological firmness and Soviet patriotism.

What could a person who frequently used old equipment teach today's young man or woman? A great deal! He could teach them, above all, to be proud of their work and their plant and to develop a conscientious and creative attitude toward their work and to aspire to self-perfection. He could, so to say, polish characters. He could provide political information. He could participate in people's control and the work of prevention councils. He could engage in the military-patriotic education of young people, etc. The world situation today is such that one must be ready at all times to repel imperialist aggression. It is important to make every young person aware of the fact that he is a defender of the homeland, for which reason he must be morally and physically ready to perform his sacred duty. It is the direct duty of the veterans to help the young people in this matter.

Our plant has organized a preconscription center headed by S. Ye. Gorbachev, a Great Patriotic War veteran. Training facilities have been equipped, where young people undergo basic training. A special classroom has been set aside where the young people study weaponry, learn how to operate radio sets and

make use of various individual protection means. Twice a year Soviet army conscripts meet at the plant's memorial which honors those who did not return from the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War. They are addressed by veterans, parents and fellow workers and every young person is issued a souvenir and an instruction by the collective.

The experience and knowledge of party veterans are greatly needed in analyzing the various complex problems and still existing cases of abuse of official position, etc. However, the state of their health prevents them from regularly participating in the work of the voluntary plant party commission. Some young managers have frequently called for dropping the "oldsters" from the commissions, for statistical figures, they claim, prove that they attend on an average no more than eight out of 12 sessions. They cannot be given outside assignments (because of illness, procedural rules, etc.). It has been found necessary repeatedly to prove that veterans have unique experience which extends over the accomplishments of several generations, experience which should be used efficiently and that matching within the commissions old with young party members is an efficient means of properly making decisions on most difficult matters. Finally, the participation of veterans in such work (even though periodical) is the final thread which links them to the party organization and the collective where they worked and actively participated in social life a decade ago or even longer, asking neither for additional wages or more travel vouchers to sanatoriums. "Greater concern and greater simple human attention, sympathy and respect. That is what is needed. And each party or trade union organization and state institution and each labor collective and every individual must always remember this," Yu. V. Andropov told party veterans.

One of the principal distinctions between socialism and capitalism, where the entrepreneur needs a person only as long as he can work intensively and be profitable, is the humanism of our system. As the person gets older, he begins to be increasingly ill and urgently needs the help of others. We must facilitate his spiritual state and material difficulties wherever they exist. What is needed is not a one-time splash of enthusiasm but an efficiently planned and organized system of health, including help to the very old, without close relatives. Noble intentions and even sincere desire to be useful to others are insufficient in this case.

Some cities have set up clubs for retirees. They concentrate on mass cultural work and on broadening the social contacts of nonworking elderly people. However, few are the clubs which help the sick and the bedridden. Furthermore, such a complex task is beyond the possibilities of such voluntary organizations. I believe that under the guidance of the local authorities it would be expedient to combine the efforts of medical and school institutions, social security organs and transportation and household service enterprises. It is only by breaking down departmental barriers and efficiently implementing the set of interrelated measures that one could supply people who are alone and with reduced or lost ability to take care of themselves with medicines and

hot meals, provide them with special dietetic food, ensure the repair of their premises and provide other services. It is only through joint efforts that every veteran can always feel warmed by the concern of his collective and the country at large.

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ON SENSIBLE CONSUMPTION STANDARDS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 84 (signed to press 13 Aug 84) pp 114-116

[Letter to the editors by K. Fedorov, CPSU member and labor and Great Patriotic War veteran, Vatutino, Cherkassy Oblast]

[Text] A great deal has been accomplished in our country to upgrade the people's material well-being and standards. It is very important to be able to make sensible use of all the benefits which a socialist society grants the people.

Yu. V. Andropov said at the June 1983 Central Committee Plenum that in our country we frequently use the formula of "upgrading the living standard." However, occasionally this formula is given a simplistic interpretation, referring only to the increased income of the population and the production of consumer goods. Actually, the concept of living standard is far broader and richer. It also involves the steady growth of the people's consciousness and standards, including the standards of life, behavior and sensible consumption.

In my view, the consumption standard excludes, above all, impossible demands or the wish to obtain greater goods for oneself than society is able to provide for equal labor to any other citizen. Nor could consumption at the expense of others, which frequently triggers (naturally, quite unjustifiably) a feeling of superiority over less "successful" people, be considered normal.

The spiritually empty, petit bourgeois cult of objects, which undermines the personality, is alien to the majority of Soviet people. However, there also exist among us individuals who try to give less to and take more from the state. It is precisely on the basis of such a mentality that egotism, philistinism, acquisitiveness and indifference for the concerns and affairs of the people develop.

To such people objects overshadow spiritual values and become a means of fictitious self-assertion. Their ever-present wish is to have everything others have only more and better. This requires a great amount of time, mental effort and money. Such illusory success, frequently achieved in this manner, turns into moral defeat and moral waste. Unnecessary or "prestige" objects begin to dictate to their owner a style of life and to change him at

some point in his life. By overcrowding his apartment, the person naively believes that he himself has come closer to a certain kind of stereotyped lifestyle. Actually, he has become a slave of objects and, imperceptibly, a lesser person.

It is particularly worrisome that the aspiration to become "famous" in this manner is occasionally manifested among young people. The overwhelming majority of the young are active participants in the building of communism and are worthy heirs and continuators of the cause of their fathers. However, it is precisely against this general background that the facts of parasitism and the dangerous fungus of philistinism, which penetrates the youthful environment, become particularly striking. The blame frequently falls on the parents, whose love may assume extremely distorted forms. Sometimes the children become their label of prestige. Many parents are seized by the desire to dress their children not only as well as others but mandatorily better, most stylishly. Given such an attitude, such adolescents begin to believe that this "smartness," and the possession of expensive and extremely fashionable objects which others rarely possess make them striking and allow them to be singled out. Such feelings, however, are based not on their minds, talent or spiritual qualities but on the material means of their fathers and mothers. Obviously, it would be expedient, with the help of the Law on Labor Collectives, to enhance the responsibility of the parents for the behavior and moral appearance of their children. Sensible wants must be developed within the family from a most tender age.

Unfortunately, so far the schools as well have failed to develop sensible wants. How should the family budget be structured? On what should money be spent? So far, secondary school graduates have not been given sensible answers to these and similar questions by their teachers. Furthermore, few enterprises have tutors, retirees who not only share their knowledge, production experience and love for the work with the young but teach them how to distinguish between real and fictitious values and to withstand the temptation of the world of objects.

Yet, many young people are almost ecstatic at pseudomodernism (which may be expressed in the style of clothing or behavior). However, they are following the prestigious stereotypes of their surroundings. They are embarrassed by their natural appearances which makes them lose face. This is the result of the loss of a feeling of personal dignity. It is a confirmation of an amorphous life stance and undeveloped spiritual needs.

The earlier the parents, teachers, tutors and party and labor veterans help the adolescents to understand the difference between the dignity of the human person and the value of his "packaging," the sooner the young people will stop sacrificing to fickle fashion their unique individuality.

"To build a new world means to be tirelessly concerned with molding the man of the new world and with his ideological and moral growth," Comrade K. U. Chernenko said at the February 1984 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Debates, lectures and talks on "the Soviet way of life" and "sensible consumption by the Soviet person" are held under the guidance of party, soviet

and Komsomol organs and organizations in our Zvenigorodskiy Rayon, with a view to developing in the youth and in all Soviet people standards of sensible consumption. Meetings on this topic are held with party, labor and Great Patriotic War veterans. Once a month they present talks and recollections in the local press and on the radio, which also help to educate the young people.

Newly married couples and students in vocational and technical schools and the medical school, the Shevchenkov Hydraulic Land Reclamation Technical School and senior classmen are invited to attend motion picture clubs at the city's movie theater to discuss "The Young Family," "Young People and the Law," and "The Law and You." They are addressed by raykom representatives, production leaders, school principals and veterans. The purpose of such lectures and talks is also to develop in our heirs sensible consumption standards.

Our Zvenigorod Specialized Cheesemaking School, of republic importance, has 272 students. They are periodically addressed by Yu. I. Mazayev, chairman of the Council of Veterans of the 20th Zvenigorod Tank Corps and other veterans. Another frequent guest at the school is O. F. Borozenova, a worker at the Zvenigorod Cheese Combine and a deputy of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet. She speaks about her work, makes suggestions on how to improve training and discipline, and explains how to separate true from false values. Classroom leaders V. N. Nikonenko, V. P. Safonova and others give educational talks on "The Communist Features of the Soviet Person" and "Sensible Consumption Is a Characteristic Feature of the Soviet Person."

I know that industrial enterprises and kolkhozes and sovkhoses in the rayon and the entire Cherkassy Oblast are doing a great deal of work to develop a sensible consumption standard.

Naturally, these are merely the initial steps which are not always successful, for people adopt a cautious attitude toward all kinds of admonitions and instructions. They do not accept abstract views without specific facts borrowed from reality, and even when such facts are supplied they evaluate and analyze them, accepting some and rejecting others. I believe that the desire to own beautiful things is natural (it is important, obviously, not to let it push asunder or depreciate the other things which make life rich!). However, there are different levels of desire for sufficiency. Some people zealously upgrade their professional knowledge, skill and mastery. They work with total dedication for the benefit of society. It is natural for society to reward them according to their merits. This is the honest, the normal way to prosperity. Others, however, are dodgers. Clearly, it would be expedient to speak with the people and to take precisely into consideration the real contradictions in life, without avoiding sensitive questions, and to involve them more energetically in the struggle against all kinds of delinquencies, parasitism or bribery.

As we know, our industry does not always produce commodities in a wide variety and of high quality, taking into consideration changes in fashion or equal to world standards. This leads to a scarcity of goods in greater demand, which inevitably triggers black marketeering and bribery or use of official position for selfish purposes. Shortages are harmful by the very fact that they confuse our conceptions as to the real value of things. The prices of some

items (taking their prestigiousness into consideration) at second-hand stores are entirely arbitrary, with no relation to the value of the object or a person's average work income.

Most frequently, it is our morality which suffers from this. Trade workers and anyone who has the opportunity somehow to "procure" and sell a scarce commodity can thus become rich without working. This frequently leads to the psychological and moral degeneration of people. The desire to acquire a super-fashionable object at all cost grows into the aspiration to lead a "beautiful" life in general. The aspiration to organize one's life on the basis of the principle of "give less and take more," narrows opportunities for obtaining an interesting job and, consequently, being more useful to society. Such soullessness and such a superficial view of life are by no means harmless. It is very important to eliminate any possibility of illegal means of acquisition and to block all channels of parasitical consumption.

At his meeting with the working people of the Kuybyshev Electoral District in Moscow, Comrade K. U. Chernenko pointed out that "as you know, the party and the state have intensified their struggle against shameful phenomena, such as the waste of state funds, whitewashing, abuse of official position, theft and bribery. This is no temporary campaign but a line which will be followed steadily and strictly. In this case no tolerance will be shown toward anyone. No one should have any illusions on this account."

Not only the militia, the organs of the OBKhSS [Department for Combatting Thefts of Socialist Property and Speculation], and the prosecutor's office but the public at large as well must work to bring order in the distribution and consumption of public goods, firmly block intrigues with scarce goods and create an atmosphere of intolerance of all sorts of money grabbers, parasites and bribe takers. Our rayon has set up 421 groups and posts of people's control with a total membership of 2,732. Furthermore, we have 97 voluntary inspectors (there are 2,396 such inspectors in the oblast). Many of them are party and labor veterans. They are honest and impeccable working people distinguished by high civic activeness. They expose gross violations in trade, public services, public catering, overcharging customers, selling goods in greater demand under the counter, abusing official position, etc. The culprits are liable to discipline, deprived of bonuses, dismissed from their jobs with an entry in their labor record or, if necessary, are prosecuted as criminals. In particular, based on public signals, the rayon OBKhSS and the prosecutor's office indicted I. V. Snitsaryuk, chief of the Vatutino Communal Enterprises Combine, and V. Z. Ivashchenko, chairman of the Olkhovskiy Rural Soviet Executive Committee. They were sentenced to long jail terms with confiscation of property for abusing their official positions, numerous thefts and bribery.

Commissions for the distribution of commodities in greater demand have been set up by the rayon consumer society. Representatives of the public, deputies, people's controllers and veterans see to it that such commodities are allocated above all among industrial enterprises, establishments, kolkhozes and sovkhoses and supplied to those who have worked well. For example, A. G. Kholashviy, driver at the Kolkhoz imeni Il'ich, N. I. Yasinskiy, head of the mechanized link at the Kolkhoz imeni Kotovskiy, S. M.

Babiy, head of a tractor brigade at the same farm, and Ye. P. Lomane, milking machine operator at the Kolkhoz imeni Kirov were given priority in purchasing passenger cars, as a reward for excellent indicators in their work and labor discipline.

Plugging loopholes for abuses and illicit income and the just distribution of goods in short supply have a positive impact on the moral and psychological condition of the people and, therefore, on their attitude toward their work.

There are 411,000 party and labor veterans in Cherkassy Oblast and some 8,000 tutors are working with young people. Through their joint efforts they could engage in a decisive struggle against pseudomodernism, pseudointellectualism, moral vacuum, and acquisition of objects. They could prove with specific examples that today to be a modern person means to be able to find oneself and one's place in life and to choose a profession in accordance with one's inclinations and capabilities, and to make able use of all advantages of the Soviet way of life.

Our descendants must develop a view on life in which material goods (which will become increasingly abundant as time goes on) should not dominate the person but satisfy his loftiest needs. It is only the spiritual wealth of a person that is truly limitless. Although such wealth cannot be put in a bag and hung on a wall for its prestige value, we are in favor of this kind of acquisitiveness, the only one worthy of man, of the Soviet person. Personal happiness is determined not by money or prestigious objects. Involvement with learning, work, good relations and understanding within the family, purposefulness, high internal and external standards and independent judgment are the components of moral purity and of an active life stance. It is in that direction that we must orient our growing generation and all Soviet people.

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MAJOR PATRIOTIC PUBLICATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 84 (signed to press 13 Aug 84) pp 117-120

[Review by Prof V. Buganov, doctor of historical sciences, of the following books published in the series "History of the Fatherland in Novels, Stories and Documents": (1) "Soyuz Nerushimyy. Vek XX" [Indissoluble Union. The Twentieth Century]. Moscow, 1982, 429 pp; (2) "Za Zemlyu Russkuyu. Vek XIII" [For the Russian Land. The Thirteenth Century]. Moscow, 1983, 525 pp; "Stoyati Zaodno. Vek XVII" [Standing Together. The Seventeenth Century]. Moscow, 1983, 493 pp; "Buntashnyy Vek. Vek XVII" [The Age of Rebellion. The Seventeenth Century]. Moscow, 1983, 572 pp; "Sedoy Ural. Vek XVIII" [Hoary Ural. The Eighteenth Century]. Moscow, 1983, 446 pp; (3) "Gornyye Vetry. Konets XIX-Nachalo XX v." [Mountain Winds. End of the Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Century]. Moscow, 1984, 780 pp; "Obnovleniye Zemli. Vek XX" [Renovation of the Land. The Twentieth Century]. Moscow, 1984, 830 pp]

[Text] History justifiably plays an important role in the arsenal of the variety of means for the ideological-political and patriotic upbringing of the Soviet person. The works of Soviet historians, writers, publicists and theater and motion picture workers on historical topics develop in the readers and viewers love for the homeland and respect for progressive traditions; they teach us how to hurt for the misfortunes of our people and to be pleased by their successes. In this respect, the publication of a series on "History of the Fatherland in Novels, Stories and Documents," undertaken by Izdatel'stvo Molodaya Gvardiya, is of unquestionable interest. The first volume was published in 1982 (1); four volumes were published in 1983 (2) and two volumes were published this year (3). It is now possible to sum up the initial results of this project and to consider its prospects.

Let us emphasize above all that this is precisely a series of historical publications in the broad meaning of the term. Each of its volumes deals with a specific period and includes works of all possible genres. This applies to historical prose, from its classical models of the first half of the 19th century to works published in recent years, works by historians and historical publicists and a wide range of sources; this also includes the works of Lenin and the initial documents of the Soviet system (the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, etc.), memoirs, chronicles and monuments of ancient

Russian literature. Each volume in this "History of the Fatherland..." has an aesthetic and intellectual effect. It encourages feelings and awakens the mind. The very concept of the compilers and publishers deserves absolute approval: to lead the reader from the historical novel to the historical source and the scientific commentaries, to create the desire and develop the habit for independent thoughts on the destinies of the homeland and its past, present and future.

The structure of this publication is unusual in terms of series of historical novels. It is chronological. The reader is given the possibility of studying the age-old history of the fatherland, from the times of the struggle of the ancient Rus state against foreign invasions to the present. The participation of professional historians, who have compiled the volumes and have authored introductory articles and provided serious and extended commentaries, significantly enhances the scientific standard of this publication.

The study of the initial volumes shows that this series covers a broad and complex historical canvas. The topic of the first volume "Soyuz Nerushimyy" is the friendship among the peoples of our country. The book opens with the section "In the Name of the Revolution," in which the formulation and implementation of the Leninist principles of national-state structure and the history of the unification movement of independent Soviet republics, which brought about the founding of the USSR, are described in precise, meaningful yet warm and excited style of documents of the first post-October Revolution years. This topic is continued with the works of M. Gor'kiy, A. Laurinchyukas, V. Bol'shak and M. Alekseyev. All of them are of the same genre--fiction-documentary essays based on the writers' impressions after visiting various parts of our immense homeland.

M. Gor'kiy writes of his trip in the Transcaucasus and the Northern Caucasus, along the Volga, the Russian North, the common fate of the nations of our country and the changes which the revolution made in their lives. Essays by contemporary writers appear like a continuation of Gor'kiy's story. Let us particularly single out the work "The Eternal Birches" by A. Laurinchyukas, which is a masterly representation of the changes which have taken place in our national awareness under the Soviet system. Laurinchyukas is a Lithuanian, but his homeland is not Lithuania alone. The author is disturbed by unionwide problems such as the economic development of Siberia and the Far East and environmental protection. Using all the force of his literary talent, he expresses the self-awareness of the Soviet people--the new historical, social and international community.

The volume "Za Zemlyu Russkuyu" is the story of the tragic 13th century and the heroic struggle waged by the peoples of our country against foreign invasions. The main work in this volume is the novel "Aleksandr Nevskiy" by A. Yugov. Aleksandr Nevskiy--the man who defeated the German knights and the Swedish feudal lords--is well-known and popular among the people. The novel makes the very content of the heroism of this outstanding statesman, military leader and diplomat more profound. Aleksandr Nevskiy is described in the novel already as the Grand Duke of Vladimir. At the cost of diplomatic concessions and even his own life he tries to protect the Russian soil, harmed by the invading hordes, from new raids and to allow it to heal its wounds and

to rally its forces in order to throw off the hated foreign yoke at a latter time.

The documentary and scientific part of this volume considerably broadens our concept of that age in terms of its problems, chronology and geography. The materials it contains, which include Russian chronicles, stories and Central Asian chronicles, notes by Western European travelers of the period and works by 19th and 20th century historians, describe the blossoming of pre-Mongol Rus, the Golden Horde conquerors, the struggle which all the peoples of our country waged against them and the way the Russian people repelled the German and Swedish feudal aggression.

Suitably represented in this volume are works of 19th and 20th century scientists, including those of S. M. Solov'yev and G. Ye. Grum-Grzhimaylo, I. P. Petrushevskiy and I. E. Grabar'; our contemporaries are represented by B. A. Rybakov. We believe that an excerpt of the book "Aleksandr Nevskiy" by V. T. Pashuto as well could have been included in the section describing the struggle waged by Rus against Swedish and German feudal aggression.

An interesting effort has been made to synthesize the characters of historical publications of all possible genres in the collection "Stoyati Zaodno," which deals with the events of the first peasant war in Russia and the struggle waged by the Russian people against the intervention of Polish-Lithuanian and Swedish feudal lords.

The national upsurge, which was triggered by the struggle against the aggressors, significantly energized old Russian literature, already during the years of the Great Troubles." The collection includes "The New Story on the Great Russian Kingdom," an anonymous letter and a kind of proclamation which called upon the Muscovites to fight the Polish interventionists, and "Message From One Noble to Another," on Ivan Bolotnikov's uprising. Two other literary monuments of the period--"Tale" by Avraamiy Palitsyn and "Moscow Chronicle" by Konrad Bussov--excerpts of which have also been included in the volume--describe the most important events in the struggle against foreign intervention--the heroic defense of the Troitsa-Sergiyev Monastery and the uprising of the Muscovites against the foreign feudal lords. These works as a whole create a single vivid and colorful picture of life in Russian society during the time of troubles. They are part of the second, documentary, section of the collection. Unfortunately, this part contains relatively few original documents of the time, such as official documents (including deeds issued by Patriarch Germogen, which describe the content of the famous "Splendid Letters" of I. Bolotnikov to the inhabitants of Moscow, informing them of the requirements and objectives of the veterans of the first peasant war in Russia). It would have been equally suitable to include an excerpt from the "New Chronicle," which narrates in an interesting and lively manner the events of the beginning of the 17th century.

The scale of these events and the heroism of the Russian people, who were able to defend the independence of the homeland during a very harsh struggle, have always drawn attention to the time of troubles and been a source of inspiration for their descendants. This is the topic of the familiar historical novel "Yuriy Miloslavskiy, Ili Russkiye v 1612 Godu" [Yuriy

Miloslavskiy or the Russians in 1612] by M. N. Zagoskin, which accounts for the first part of the collection.

The volume is substantially enriched by the publication of the lectures given by V. O. Klyuchevskiy on the time of troubles. However, combining within a single collection works of such different genres does not create an impression of diversity however, but on the contrary looks harmonious and interesting. The 17th century document, a novel covering the first third of the 19th and a work of history of the beginning of the 20th century also indicate the way, in the course of centuries, the understanding of the events of the times of troubles changed, as well as their contemporary value--admiration at the courage and firmness of the Russian people struggling for national autonomy.

The volume "Buntashnyy Vek" deals with the class struggle. Its main work is the novel "I Came to Give You Freedom" by V. Shukshin, which recreates in a talented way the element of popular life and describes the peasant war headed by Stepan Razin. The second part of the volume includes the work "On Russia and the Reign of Aleksey Mikhailovich," written by Grigoriy Kotoshikhin, the clerk who recorded the Posol'skiy Order, an adventurer who fled abroad and ended his life on a Swedish scaffold. Kotoshikhin's work performs an important function: it recreates the general background against which the events of Shukshin's novel developed and describes the feudal state--the force which opposed the people's masses at the time of the peasant war. The introductory article to this work gives it a detailed accurate assessment; the text, somewhat abridged, has been extensively annotated. Nevertheless, despite the entire interest which G. Kotoshikhin's work creates in the readers, as the only documentary part of the volume it is unable to answer all questions related to Razin's uprising or other manifestations of the class protest during the second half of the 17th century. This could have been shown with the help of interesting vivid documents of the epoch such as, for example, S. Razin's "Charming Deed," descriptions by contemporaries, the death sentence of the rebellious ataman and others.

Quite important, in my view, is the volume "Sedoy Ural." The story of the Urals--the cradle of Russian industry, the place of birth of the Russian proletariat and one of the main centers of domestic industry--starts the topic of socioeconomic history with "History of the Fatherland...." The materials included in this volume prove the talent of the Russian skilled workers, the tempestuous development of Ural industry and the struggle waged by the miners against their oppressors.

We read about all of this with interest in the famous story "The Khozyayka Copper Mountain" by P. Bazhov, the story "Ore Miners" by A. Barmin and "Rebellion" by V. Tubolev, and the historical essay "Yekaterinburg City" by D. N. Mamin-Sibiryak. The second part of the volume includes historical documents and descriptions of Ural industry by contemporaries: "The 1719 Berg-Privilege" (the ukase issued by Peter the Great on the Basic Principles governing the organization and management of metallurgical industry and ore mining in Russia), "Description of Ural and Siberian Plants, 1735" by V. I. Gennin and "Excerpt From Ore-Mining Affairs, 1777" by V. I. Kramarenkov. These documents describe the development of the resources of this ore mining area, the hard life of the working people in the Urals and the successes

achieved by the Ural metallurgical industry at the beginning and middle of the 18th century. The volume should have added materials to the effect that the use of forced (serf) labor in the Ural plants in the 18th century predetermined toward the end of the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries the lag which developed in Ural industry compared with the advanced countries in Western Europe. In this connection, once again we could wish for more strictly documentary data. For the time being, the only document included is the mentioned "Berg-Privilege, 1719." Yet numerous and quite interesting data, both published or still kept in archives, describe 18th century Ural industry.

The rich history of our fatherland benefits not only the Russian but all other nations in the country. Ever since it was formed at the end of the 15th century, the Russian centralized state has been multinational and ever since then a common fate has been the lot of all nations inhabiting the ever-expanding Russian empire. Equally common was the oppression by autocracy and landowner and capitalist exploitation, which was a heavy burden borne by working people of all nationalities. That is why the yoke of social and ethnic slavery could be rejected only through unity, through the joint efforts of the people's masses.

Naturally, a detailed coverage of the history of all the peoples of the USSR and their life until they joined the Russian empire, their specific position within it and the level and forms of participation in basic events affecting the by now common Russian history would be impossible even with a multiple-volume but nevertheless limited publication. It seems to me that the publishers of the "History of the Fatherland..." have found a proper solution to this situation. Whereas the volume "Soyuz Nerushimyy" describes the radical changes which occurred in the fate of all nations and ethnic groups of the former Russian Empire and their unification within the single fraternal family of peoples of the Soviet Union, in the other volumes the characteristic features of the life of the peoples of Russia at different historical times will be described by taking a few of them as examples.

One of them--"Gornyye Vetry"--depicts the life of the peoples of the Transcaucasus at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries and their participation in the Russian revolutionary movement. This volume is based on the novel "Data Tutashkhia," a novel by Ch. Amiredzhibi, the character of which engaged in a dedicated struggle against social evil. Data Tutashkhia is a lonely rebel; his reaction to social injustice is typically peasant. The efforts of this noble robber Abrek Data Tutashkhia to conquer evil in the world proved futile. Yet he was unable to realize the need for organized struggle against the entire system of social injustice. The fatality and tragedy of Data Tutashkhia's personal destiny are also those of any peasant movement unless it has the working class as its hegemonistic ally.

Supplementing the novel by Ch. Amiredzhibi is the documentary part of the volume, which includes newspaper articles, documents of RSDWP committees, reports of the tsarist secret service and letters by workers and members of the revolutionary intelligentsia, depicting the meaningful and historically accurate picture of the gradual growth of the revolutionary movement in the Transcaucasus at the turn of the 20th century (the Guri uprising, the general

strikes in Baku, etc.). The documents describe the path which, unlike that of Data Tutashkhia, the popular masses of the Transcaucasus were able to follow and which, together with the other peoples of Russia, enabled them to overthrow the old world along with its social and national oppression.

The Soviet age, with its historical accomplishments on the labor fronts and the battlefields in fighting the enemies of the fatherland and the enthusiasm of building socialism and communism, should be extensively reflected in the "History of the Fatherland..." series. This work is already under way. The latest volume published, "Obnovleniye Zemli," deals with the collectivization of agriculture in the USSR. In addition to "Virgin Land Upturned," M. Sholokhov's novel, it includes a number of very important, interesting and outstanding documents. They include the Decree on Land, which abolished private land ownership in our country forever, Lenin's article "On the Cooperative" and documents and materials of the communist party and the Soviet state, which present the historical process of socialist reorganization of the countryside during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. The memoirs of those who participated in the collectivization, which vividly describe the period during which the kolkhoz system grew and strengthened, the land was renovated and the new socialist aspect of the Soviet peasantry was being established, is of great interest.

The publishers of "History of the Fatherland..." together with noted Soviet historians, writers and public personalities, members of the editorial council, have planned a broad and varied program. Unquestionably, its implementation will enrich the knowledge of the readership at large about the great past of our homeland and will contribute to the raising of the Soviet people in a spirit of patriotism, civic-mindedness and pride in their nation and country.

The path chosen by this series is the right one. Several more volumes are awaiting publication and we can express our satisfaction with the fact that such a major and important project has been initiated. Let us wish the compilers of the series to broaden more daringly the area of historical coverage of events of the past, including the most essential, the crucial events and epochs of domestic history, the Soviet period in particular. This must be based on the latest achievements of Soviet historical science and depicted in connection with the groundless concepts of contemporary foreign bourgeois historians who write works on our country's history. The main feature of this project is the mandatory observance of the methodological requirements of dialectical-materialistic and historical and class approach and the comprehensive and complex study of documents and materials. In my view, this experience of cooperation between historians and publishers in creating this series is a good example of social scientists addressing themselves to the solution of practical problems.

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CONTEMPORARY OF THE FUTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 12, Aug 84 (signed to press 13 Aug 84) pp 120-126

[Review by B. Arkhipov of the book "Deloto na Georgi Dimitrov i Nashata Suvremennost" [Georgi Dimitrov's Cause and Our Contemporaneity]. Partizdat, Sofia, 1983 (Part I, 563 pp; Part II, 566 pp)]

[Text] Forty years have passed since the memorable day of 9 September 1944 when, after rallying all revolutionary and progressive forces in the country within the Fatherland Front and with the decisive help of the Red Army, the Bulgarian working class, led by its Marxist-Leninist communist party, carried out the victorious armed uprising. The brightest, the most outstanding and the most creative and fruitful period in the 1300-year-old Bulgarian history began. As a result of the victory of the revolution the power of the working people was established. It was essentially a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the people's democracy. In carrying out the democratic changes, the people's regime laid the beginning of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The BCP formulated the program for this transition under the guidance of its leader Georgi Dimitrov. During the period of socialist development, the appearance of the country, nearly 80 percent of whose active population was engaged in petty and unorganized farming, changed radically. Contemporary Bulgaria is an industrial-agrarian country with a developed industry and large, totally socialized and mechanized agriculture. The ratio between the volume of industrial and agricultural output is 85:15. Compared to 1939 current industrial output is higher by a factor of 84, while agricultural output has almost tripled. The country has trained highly skilled cadres which can resolve even the most complex problems of scientific, technological and cultural development.

Today's Bulgaria, which is successfully building a developed socialist society, is the greatest and worthiest monument to Georgi Dimitrov, for it embodies the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist ideas to the struggle for which he dedicated his entire life.

The two-volume work under review, which is noteworthy in all respects, and which came out in Sofia on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Republic, can be considered with full justification a new manifestation of respect for the outstanding Leninist-type revolutionary and

noted leader of the international communist and worker movements, zealous fighter against fascism and war, tested leader of the BCP, builder of new Bulgaria and great friend of the land of the soviets Georgi Mikhaylov Dimitrov, and the close attention paid to his creative legacy.

The book is a collection of papers presented at the International Theoretical Conference which took place in Sofia from 15 to 17 June 1982 on the occasion of the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth. The conference was attended by 148 delegations invited by the BCP Central Committee. Eight of them represented international nongovernmental organizations and the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. The remaining 140 consisted of delegations of parties and organizations from 104 countries: 85 communist and worker parties, 21 revolutionary-democratic parties, 10 socialist and social democratic parties, eight national liberation movements and fronts, 14 national sociopolitical organizations and two ruling national parties. Such a representative forum is a vivid confirmation of the popularity and tremendous prestige which Georgi Dimitrov enjoyed in the global revolutionary-liberation movement.

"In resolving the problems of their time," historical personalities on the level of Georgi Dimitrov "hammer out ideas and principles which subsequently become a priceless capital of lasting significance to us," said Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, at the conference. "This makes them contemporaries of the future" ("Deloto na Georgi Dimitrov...", Volume I, p 8).

The addresses presented at the conference, included in the two-volume work, and the greetings presented by state and public leaders of a number of countries, prove that Dimitrov's ideological legacy and creative contribution to the treasure of Marxism-Leninism are actively used by all progressive forces rallied in the struggle against the threat of war and the preservation of peace throughout the world and for democracy, national and social liberation and socialism.

Georgi Dimitrov's life and activities are a model of dedicated service to the working class, the entire working people and socialism. They are a model of profound knowledge of the essence of Marxism-Leninism and skillful mastery of Marxist dialectics. It was no accident that many of the speeches published in the work emphasize that Georgi Dimitrov possessed to the fullest extent the outstanding qualities of a revolutionary, which he himself had described in the preface to the book "Let Us Rescue Comrade Thalman": "The life of Ernst Thalman proves that the true revolutionary, the true proletarian leader grows through the mastery of Marxism-Leninism in the flames of the class struggle. A revolutionary temperament alone is not enough. One must also master the weapon of revolutionary theory. However, purely theoretical knowledge itself is insufficient. One must also engage in continuing struggle against the class enemy, surmounting constant difficulties and dangers and develop within oneself revolutionary tempering and firmness, bolshevik will, hardness and persistence. It is insufficient merely to know what one must do for the victory of communism. One must also have the courage to do what is needed. One must always be ready at the cost of any sacrifice on his part to do what serves the interests of the working class. One must be able totally to subordinate one's entire personal life to the interests of the proletariat" (G. DIMITROV, "Such." [Works], vol 9, p 489).

Today as well all of these qualities are absolutely necessary to the revolutionaries. Particularly important is Dimitrov's behest of not forgetting the final objective. Whatever tactical steps and turns are required in the course of the struggle, the proletarian revolutionary must always bear in mind the need to resolve the main problem--bringing the victory of socialism closer. Dimitrov himself, and the BCP he headed, steadfastly followed that principle. "We," he said, "have never lost track of the general prospects of our development toward socialism and communism" (G. Dimitrov, op. cit., vol 14, p 286).

The current importance of this instruction was noted at the conference.

Gustavo Espinoza, member of the Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee Political Commission, said: "Practical experience proves that everything which separates us from capitalism brings us closer to socialism and that, conversely, anything which brings us closer to any form of capitalism whatsoever objectively distances us from socialism" (Volume II, p 92).

Edison Jwobgo, secretary of the African National Union Zimbabwe-Patriotic Front Central Committee (ZANU-PF), emphasized that as a personality and a revolutionary Dimitrov is precious to all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world because "throughout his entire difficult life he remained firmly and uncompromisingly loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.... The example of Georgi Dimitrov inspired us during the entire 15 years of armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.... We are convinced that socialism is the only true and sensible alternative to capitalism. Furthermore, we believe that the only true socialism is socialism based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism" (Volume I, pp 338-339).

The vitality of Georgi Dimitrov's ideological legacy today--this too is convincingly proved by the materials in the work--is that he concretized in terms of the 1930s Lenin's thought of the need to combine the labor movement with the general democratic movements by developing, together with other Comintern leaders, such as Klement Gottwald, D. Z. Manuil'skiy, Wilhelm Pieck, J. V. Stalin, Palmiro Togliatti, Maurice Thorez and others--the tactic of the national front and broad antifascist and antiwar coalition.

Problems related to the struggle for peace were subjected to extensive and comprehensive discussion at the conference. This is understandable, for, to begin with, the prevention of thermonuclear war is one of the most important global problems; secondly, because Dimitrov was one of the first to raise the alarm by warning of the threat of another world war and one of the first to indicate the need for a broad antiwar popular front and to indicate the increased possibilities of peace-loving forces. Dimitrov wrote that these possibilities will increase gigantically if all antiwar movements realize the need to combine their efforts with the efforts of a powerful factor of peace such as the Soviet Union.

Today, when the joint actions of the members of the socialist commonwealth and all other peace-loving forces have become the most important factor in

preventing a nuclear catastrophe, Dimitrov's idea of a united front against the threat of war is particularly relevant. "To prevent the outbreak of a worldwide thermonuclear conflagration," Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized, "is, in our opinion, the major problem today in the development of the world revolutionary process. The successful building of socialism and communism is inseparably linked to peace. The victorious development of national and social revolutions is linked to peace. The progress of human society as a whole is linked to peace" (Volume I, p 10).

The struggle for peace, the two-volume work states, once again gives priority to a problem which was comprehensively developed by Dimitrov and other outstanding Comintern leaders, that of the unity of action among communists and the principles governing their relations with organizations and trends with different ideological orientations.

As to the unity of action of the communists in the struggle for peace, most participants in the conference supported the concept formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress according to which "the great unifying principle and a powerful factor for the further unification and growth of the prestige of the world communist movement is the systematic struggle waged by the communist for peace and against aggressive imperialist policy and the arms race, which threaten the peoples with nuclear catastrophe."

The peace-loving forces have a broader-than-ever realm of action today. Other than the communists, various parties and social movements and many individual scientists, physicians, politicians, engineers and technical specialists related to the arms industry speak out against the threat of war and for an end to the endless arms race, realizing the nature and consequences of a nuclear war.

All of this gives priority to a problem which was extraordinarily important during Georgi Dimitrov's time as well--the principles on the basis of which communists can cooperate in the antiwar movement with organizations and trends of different ideological orientation. "It can be said that for their time Dimitrov and the communist parties provided an optimal solution to the problem," said B. N. Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, addressing the Sofia conference. "Today, under the new conditions as well, the communists are trying to master the art of interacting with heterogeneous antiwar forces.... It is a question of supporting antiwar cooperation without converting to the positions of class conciliation" (ibid., p 36).

In order to help the masses consciously to participate in the peace movement and to oppose the arms race, the communists must explain to them in detail the complex international problems and military-technical questions. To this effect the communists must understand them on the professional level.

"In such cases," B. N. Ponomarev went on to say, "the communists do not have to 'conceal' their support of the Marxist-Leninist outlook and their class-oriented viewpoint of the course and nature of world events. For example, the communists cannot avoid exposing the efforts of imperialists to eliminate from the antiwar movement its political concreteness, not to mention to use it for

antisocialist and anti-Soviet purposes. The historical mission of the communists is not simply to call for an end to the arms race but to prove what and who are obstructing the termination of such a race. Therefore, merely speaking of the need to surmount the division of the world into confronting military blocs and to reject the so-called "bloc approach" in politics is insufficient. One must realize the decisive, the basic distinction between the bloc policies of the United States and NATO, on the one hand, and the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence pursued by the socialist members of the Warsaw Pact. We cannot tolerate the fact that sometimes responsibility for the increased threat of war is laid on both imperialist and socialist countries, for such an action would mean to mislead nations, encourage the arms race and urge on those who are trumpeting the 'Soviet military threat' (ibid., p 37).

Several speakers argued against those who ascribe "equal responsibility" for the aggravation of international tension to both capitalism and real socialism, NATO and the Warsaw Pact and the United States and the USSR. In this case they referred to the ideas and practical activities of Georgi Dimitrov, who told the communist parties, the working class and all fighters against fascism and war that in no case should imperialist countries and the Soviet Union be placed on an equal footing. "In today's international situation," Dimitrov wrote, "there neither is nor could there be any other more accurate criterion in defining who is a friend and who is an enemy of the cause of the working class and socialism and who is for and against democracy and peace, other than the attitude toward the Soviet Union.... It is impossible to wage a serious struggle against the fascist warmongers without unconditionally supporting the Soviet Union--this most important factor for the preservation of peace the world over" (G. Dimitrov, op. cit., vol 10, p 392).

Many participants in the conference, representing communist and worker parties in various parts of the world, express themselves in the same spirit. "Some communists," said William Kashtan, Communist Party of Canada secretary general, "still tend to equate the forces of imperialism with those of socialism. This leads to the trend of equating NATO with the Warsaw Pact and to identifying their objectives and tasks.... Such an approach underestimates or ignores the source of threat of war--imperialism. In this case no clear class position is present. Imperialism is trying by all possible means to achieve world domination. Socialism is trying by all possible means to achieve peace and social progress.... How could these two global forces be considered equal?" (Volume I, pp 410-411).

Khaled Bagdash, secretary general of the Communist Party of Syria Central Committee, shared with the participants in the conference his impressions of the 7th Comintern Congress which he attended. He said that in addition to the general report submitted by Dimitrov "The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class and Against Fascism," he well remembered the report submitted by Palmiro Togliatti "On the Tasks of the Communist International in Connection With the Imperialists' Preparations for a New World War." It said that "having become stronger in all areas, both within the country and in the international arena, the Soviet Union has become the type of firm, strong and exclusively reliable

force which can support a policy of the defense of peace.... To us there is no doubt that the objectives of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and those of the working class and the communist parties in the capitalist countries totally coincide. No doubt whatsoever could or does exist within our ranks in this connection" (Volume II, p 169).

"The people's masses which are increasingly turning to the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist commonwealth despite all the vain efforts of imperialism and its propaganda," Khaled Bagdash said, "see in them the great battle vanguard in the struggle waged by progressive mankind against the threat of a destructive nuclear war and in the struggle for peace, the independence of the peoples, democracy and socialism" (ibid., p 170).

Atos Fava, Communist Party of Argentina secretary general, noted that "the efforts to equate the aggressive imperialist NATO bloc with the defensive treaties of the socialist bloc are absurd.... We consider patriotism and internationalism as one and the same. In struggling for peace and exposing imperialism as the main threat to peace and always supporting just wars for national liberation from colonialism, imperialism and fascism and defending socialist and democratic gains, which reaction and fascism are trying to destroy, we are implementing in practice the basic principles of proletarian internationalism. The attitude toward the Soviet Union is an essential part of the internationalist education of our party which does not forget Georgi Dimitrov's behests. This is the cornerstone of systematic democratism and anti-imperialism and loyalty to the class principles of the revolutionary worker movement" (Volume I, pp 81-82).

An increasing number of people are realizing that American imperialism has become the center of reaction, militarism and aggression. It is the main destabilizing force which is pushing the world toward nuclear catastrophe. Speakers at the Dimitrov conference noted that an antiwar coalition must be created to prevent the reactionary imperialist forces from unleashing a nuclear war. During the 1930s and 1940s fascism was the target; today the communists and all progressive forces on earth must target on the reactionary forces of imperialism and the adventuristic policy fraught with the threat of war pursued by the Reagan administration.

Fascism, Dimitrov pointed out, is not something local or temporary. It is a system of class domination of the bourgeoisie and its dictatorship in the epoch of imperialism and social revolutions. It does not mandatorily have to be a copy of the regimes of Franco, Mussolini or Hitlerite Nazism. Fascism has many faces and may appear in a variety of forms. Fascism concealed behind a pseudodemocratic mask is no less dangerous than when it is impudent, open and uncamouflaged. A number of parties, while justly noting the danger of the revival of right-wing elements, nevertheless seemed to exclude in advance the possibility of a fascist recurrence. The parties of the popular front, the communist parties above all, must mobilize the masses against a possible revenge on the part of right-wing parties, fascism and reaction.

Pinochet's fascist coup d'etat in Chile and other similar postwar events have confirmed that Dimitrov was absolutely right by calling the communist parties to vigilance.

Kharilaos Florakis, Communist Party of Greece Central Committee secretary general, pointed out the great historical responsibility of the communists in defending peace and uniting all peace-loving forces: "We do not approve equating the role of the Soviet Union to that of the United States when we speak of the arising threat to peace. The threat of war comes from imperialism and from it alone. We are ready to cooperate with all supporters of peace regardless of their other views and judgments. The communists the world over, regardless of different viewpoints they may hold on one problem or another, must join efforts in the struggle for peace and cooperate with anyone who cares for peace.... This is the imperative of the time. History will not forgive those who, during this tense moment, failed to fulfill their duty and, under the pretext of discussions on the problem of peace, try to discredit real socialism. We are struggling for peace with all the zeal of our hearts, for we want democracy and socialism" (ibid., pp 283-284).

The materials in the collection are essentially the minutes of the international theoretical conference on "The Cause of Georgi Dimitrov and Our Contemporaneity." They convincingly prove that the forces of the communist and worker movements and the forces of national liberation as well as the mass progressive social movements are becoming increasingly aware of the need for coordinated action in the struggle for peace and security of the peoples.

The work deals extensively with problems of unity of action by communist parties. We know that Georgi Dimitrov paid great attention to the dialectics of the national and the international in the revolutionary movement. In his report to the 7th Comintern Conference he said that "proletarian internationalism must, so to say, become 'acclimated' in each country in order to sink deep roots in the native soil. The national forms of the proletarian class struggle and the workers movement in individual countries do not conflict with proletarian internationalism. On the contrary, it is precisely in such forms that the international interests of the proletariat as well can be successfully defended.... Proletarian internationalism not only does not conflict with the struggle waged by the working people in individual countries for their national, social and cultural freedom but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and combat unity, provides the support needed for victory in this struggle" (G. Dimitrov, op. cit., vol 10, pp 114-115).

The revolutionary process does not develop identically in the individual countries and parts of the world. This is an objective reality which determines certain differences in the choice of ways, means, forms and methods of activity of communist and worker parties. However, the need to join efforts and to make fuller use of the international potential of the communist movement is also extant and legitimately grows. It is no accident that such great efforts are being applied by the class enemy to divide the ranks of the communists and to hinder their unity of action by displaying envious consistency in pitting some communist parties against others and insistently emphasizing and exaggerating national differences and inflating differences and different viewpoints on a number of problems existing between them.

In order to ensure the unity of the communist movement and to surmount differences, we read in the collection, meetings among communists, a constant

dialogue, honest and open comradely discussions and interested debates of crucial problems are needed. If problems on which a unity of view has not been reached in the course of the debates remain, the supreme arbiter should be reality, revolutionary practice.

The question of unity of action by the world communist and worker movements is closely related to that of the autonomy and independence of communist and worker parties.

"The traditions and experience of our Bulgarian Communist Party and of the international worker movement, and the example and behests of Georgi Dimitrov teach us," Yordan Yotov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and RABOTNICHESKO DELO editor in chief, said at the conference, "that the problem of autonomy and independence of communist parties is a problem of the autonomy and independence of the labor movement from the bourgeoisie and from our class enemy.... Anything else is a matter of applying the principles of proletarian internationalism confirmed by reality. Georgi Dimitrov's overall revolutionary cause is an eloquent and inspiring example of the vital force of Marxism-Leninism and its inexhaustible possibilities of explaining and changing the world. They are a model of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in revolutionary practice and its enrichment with new ideas and concepts" (Volume I, p 146).

Georgi Dimitrov always defended Marxism-Leninism from distortions. He defended the ideological unity of the international communist movement.

The representatives of the various parties, movements and organizations, who spoke at the conference, emphasized as Georgi Dimitrov's greatest contribution to the revolutionary movement of our time the fact that he had inflexible faith in the great power of socialism and its tremendous constructive possibilities. Dimitrov considered support and defense of all gains of socialism the most profound international duty of every communist and every member of the liberation movement.

To Georgi Dimitrov internationalism meant above all inviolable friendship with the first socialist country, the country of the October Revolution. He believed that solidarity with the Soviet Union cements the world communist movement. Dimitrov was irreconcilable in the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and national exclusiveness. He firmly opposed any attempts at weakening the unity between the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties. Subsequent developments fully confirmed his rightness. The world communist and national liberation movements reached tremendous successes. A number of countries which built socialism arose following the defeat of fascism. The world socialist community was formed and the imperialist colonial system collapsed. The cause of freedom, independence and socialism is advancing further and further.

"There are, however, people," B. N. Ponomarev said, "who resort to denying the achievements of the communist movement and defaming real socialism. Are they not similar to the character in Gor'kiy's "Song of the Eagle," in the sense that there are those who were born to crawl and not to fly? Yes, revolutionary work is always fraught with risk and demands sacrifice. Yes,

difficulties, errors and temporary defeats may exist. However, is it worth it for the communists in the face of the tremendous revolutionary accomplishments of our age not to rise in assessing the world around them and the contribution of their comrades in such accomplishments above the petty, philistine and, let us say frankly, "consumerist" concepts and to seek only the spots on the sun and, for this reason, to belittle its life-bringing role, the role of socialism?" (ibid., pp 43-44).

A number of speakers criticized the views of those who deny the achievements of the communist movement, defame real socialism and promote the idea that Leninism is a purely Russian phenomenon of no significance to other countries, that the October Revolution no longer has any revolutionary influence and that today a "new internationalism" is necessary.

"Had Dimitrov been alive today," said Armand Nicholas, secretary general of the Communist Party of Martinique, "he would have unfailingly castigated such strange 'communists' who consider the USSR 'Enemy No 1' and conspire with the imperialists. He would have unfailingly opposed those who even deny the fact that socialism exists in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We reject any new names and prefixes added to communism with a view to turning it away from its only true Marxist-Leninist way" (ibid., p 537).

"Any attempt at belittling the universally acknowledged accomplishments of real socialism," said George Tubi, Communist Party of Israel Central Committee secretary, "objectively play in the hands of the enemies of socialism" (ibid., p 355).

"Aware of the successes and difficulties in building socialism," emphasized Karl-Heintz Schroeder, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the Board of the German Communist Party, "we note that socialism which is being built in the Soviet Union and in the socialist community, including in this country of the descendants of Dimitrov is advancing along the path traced by the October Revolution. It has lost nothing of its renovating and revolutionary force. It remains the strongest renovating and revolutionary force of our epoch" (Volume II, p 317).

In criticizing the views of representatives of communist parties who, assisted by other voices, frequently deny the gains of socialism on the grounds that real socialism is distinct from the socialist ideal, Todor Zhivkov said:

"At the present stage real socialism still does not fully embody our ideal as outlined by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It has not even fully displayed all of its advantages compared to capitalism. This is a fact. However, it is equally a fact that it is precisely this real socialism rather than any other 'nonexisting' socialism, is developing and advancing, purging itself of its shortcomings and thus not only coming closer to the ideal but representing its gradual specific historical materialization. One cannot struggle for an ideal by rejecting or underestimating the real steps taken for its practical implementation" (Volume I, p 24).

Attacks on the Soviet Union, real socialism and the Great October Socialist Revolution were condemned in their Sofia speeches by Michael O'Reardon,

national chairman of the Communist Party of Ireland, Wolfe Erlich, representative of the Communist Party of Israel, Henry Winston, national chairman of the U.S. Communist Party, Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Portuguese Communist Party, and others.

The numerous speeches at the conference proved that everything possible within the specific conditions of the individual countries must be done in restraining imperialist aggressiveness and preventing a nuclear war in order to increase the great and irreplaceable role of the communist and worker parties and the entire global revolutionary movement. They clearly promote the idea that a proper attitude toward Marxism-Leninism--the revolutionary theory of the working class--and the defense of the organic integrity of Marxism and Leninism are of important, of vital significance to the communist and worker movements. Marxism-Leninism is an integral science of revolution and socialism and no other such science exists.

"The important lesson which we can draw from the entire experience of our movement and from the revolutionary reorganization of the world in our epoch," B. N. Ponomarev said at the conference, "is that communist victories are indivisibly linked with the principle-minded and creative application of Marxism-Leninism. Conversely, defeats, errors, blunders, failures, lags and obstacles in development and even crises occurring in one communist party or socialist country or another, naturally to the extent to which they have been caused by subjective factors, are all the result of either poor knowledge of Leninism or its abandonment under the pressure of opportunistic temptations or nationalistic enthusiasms, or the result of lagging in the development of theory, replacing it with dogmatic interpretations of the Leninist concept or, finally, the result of the unskilled or indecisive application of the fundamental ideals and principles of Leninism.... Marxism-Leninism has not nor could become obsolete. As Georgi Dimitrov said in his time, it is needed by the communists 'like bread, air and water,'" (Volume I pp 49-50).

The celebration of Georgi Dimitrov, the great son of Bulgaria, offered an outstanding opportunity to express in the eyes of the entire world the readiness of the communists and the other fighters for the cause of peace and freedom to follow his great example. "There are individuals," said Janet Jagan, Politburo member and secretary of the Guyana National Progressive Party, "who turn out to be not only on the level of the great tasks and demands of their time but whose ideas are so far-sighted that it is as though history is following them. Unquestionably, Georgi Dimitrov ranks among them. He has left to us profound thoughts and rich experience which have not lost their important significance and relevance to this day...." (ibid., pp 211-212).

The entire world honored Dimitrov as an outstanding personality, a fighter against fascism and war, a talented student of the great Lenin and a true communist. "When a communist such as Vladimir Il'ich Lenin is respected by all nations in the world," noted Hector Mujica, Communist Party of Venezuela Central Committee Politburo member, "to be a communist is not vanity but legitimate pride" (ibid., p 176).

The celebration of the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth at the international theoretical conference in Sofia truly developed into extolling in the eyes of the entire world the splendid and incredibly difficult title of communist.

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